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Key to End Plates

Plate I Ruanda Decorations

(a) *amatana*, quiver; (b) *imirindi*, arm ring; (c) *ingabo*, shields; (d) *imirindi*, arm ring; (e) *imikako*, string of beads; (f) the same, (g) rhomboid motif; (h) *amasaro*, string; (i), (j), (k) *amakota*, knife; (1) arrowhead-motif; (m) the same; (n), (o), (p) shield mat pattern of *mushongole* motifs. 276

Plate II Ruanda Decorations

(a), (b), (c) *uduhuda*, spear ferrules; (d), (e), (f), (g) swallow wings; (h) *imirindi*, arm ring; (i), (j) large swallow wings; (k), (l) shield mat pattern of *ikirizo* motifs.; (m) basket decoration of *ikirizo* motifs; (n) *imiambi*, arrows 277

Plate III Ruanda Decorations

(a) basket decoration; (b) *amatana*, quiver; (c) *ingabo*, shields; (d) *masaka*, millet; (e), (f) *uduhuda*, spear ferrules; (g), (h), (i) basket decorations; (j), (k) *imirindi*, arm rings 278

Plate IV. Ruanda Decorations

(a), (b) shield mat patterns; (c), (d) knife sheath patterns; (e), (f), (g), (h) basket bowl patterns . . 279

[122]

Chapter 6

Population Elements

563 The population of Ruanda is made up of three elements which anthropologically and culturally are very different, although they speak the same language.

The ruling group are the Batutsi [Tussi] herdsman who are anthropologically quite close to the Bahima [Hima] of Mpororo. There is a great gap between them and their subjects.

The Bahutu [Hutu] farmers make up the bulk of the population.

The Batwa [Twa], an outcast hunting tribe who also engage in rainmaking and pottery, form the third element.

197 Batutsi. The language of the Batutsi is identical with that of their Bahutu subjects except for certain phonetic dialect differences
101 as yet unexplained by scholars. Nevertheless, the Batutsi, as well
174 as the Bahima, must be linked with the Nilotic-Hamitic pastoral tribes on the eastern edge of the Nile Basin as well as those on the bank of the Nile to the south of the great Nile swamps. The Batutsi form the main part of an older migrating group which was wedged in between Lake Victoria and the forests of the Congo Basin. The Bari and their relatives probably broke out later in a northwesterly direction towards the Uele Basin. The Massai [Masai] group apparently poured into the regions to the east of Lake Victoria.

197 If we consider the word "Hamite" as a purely linguistic designation, the Batutsi are not Hamites at all, and even less Semites, as they are called by Rehse (1) and Kandt (2). They simply belong the interlacustrine group of the Bantu language family.

[113] 1. Rehse, H., Kiziba, Land und Leute [Kiziba, Land and People] (Stuttgart, 1900), p. 110.

2. Kandt, R., Caput Nili [The Head of the Nile] (Berlin, 1904), p. 339.

144 The word "Hamite" is, however, also used in a different sense. We speak of a "Hamitic anthropological type." This designation refers to the anthropological element so characteristic of the tribes who have mixed relatively little and who speak Hamitic languages, the Somal [Somali] and Galla, for example. In this sense [123] one may count the Batutsi among the Hamites. The Hamitic anthropological type is more obvious in them than in the Massai to the east and the Bari and Kakwa in the northwest. They are less "Negroized."

173 131 According to their traditions, the Batutsi come from the north, which, however, refers essentially to the Bugansa district south of Lake Mohasi, not to the distant lands on the other side of the Victoria-Nile, the Bukedi, traditional homeland of the Babito. This might mean that the Batutsi have been in their present country long enough for the other, older traditions to have faded, leaving only those concerning the founding of the Ruanda state.

Karagwe, however, is also mentioned in these traditions. Perhaps this has something to do with the older migration of the Ruanda Batutsi. Presumably this migration took place along an axis extending from the steppes in the northeast, along the Karagwe border, and across Lake Mohasi to Nduga and Mukinjaga. It is along this axis that one finds the strongest concentration of Batutsi.

131 Dr. Kandt states that the original homeland of the Batutsi is the Mhogo Basin (districts of the upper Nyawarongo). Kissaka also has a large percentage of Batutsi. Baumann (1) mentions isolated groups of Batutsi in the mountains in the northwestern part of Tanganyika. Only in the Muwissi Mountains, in the southwestern part of Issawi, are there reputedly very few Batutsi. (2)

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[113] 1. Baumann, O., Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle [Through the Land of the Masai to the Source of the Nile] (Berlin, 1894), p. 204.

2. Travel reports of Prof. Hans Meyer

131 on German East Africa. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, p. 348.

In the northwestern part of the above-mentioned axis the Batutsi are less numerous. Only in Bwischascha and above all in the district of Lubengera do they appear in larger numbers. (3)

3. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin), p. 505.

The Batutsi of Bugoye settled there only a few generations ago. They came there from Mukinjaga. The few Batutsi in Mulera came there a short time ago from Nduga.

101
167 The Batutsi have also migrated to the west across the eastern edge of the graben [Rift Valley]. Dr. Kandt (4) says the following about the Batutsi in Kishari:

4. Ibid., p. 456.

"Here (Tshove, Kishari) many Watussi visited us, simple, friendly people but less handsome and aristocratic than those of Urundi and Ruanda; they have to work. Here they are not the rulers of the country, but cattle breeders living in villages isolated from the original inhabitants who are agriculturalists. (It is indeed strange how sharp a boundary the Ruzizi River and Lake Kivu form in this respect: to the east whole groups of Watussi live as kings and chiefs of subject peoples; to the west they appear sporadically or, as in Kishari, in larger numbers, but in neither case as rulers.)... Later I heard that Kishari is the refuge for all Watussi who for some reason have had to flee from their homeland." [124]

241
558 Despite the fact that conditions are very favorable for agriculture, the Batutsi have remained herdsmen, and only seldom have poverty-stricken Batutsi taken up agriculture. This happened to a family of Bagwabiro in Bugoye. Those Batutsi who till the

241 558 soil when in dire circumstances are scorned by their fellow tribesmen, and consequently they are absorbed into the mass of farmers who belong to another tribe.

231 576 The cow is the center of interest for the Batutsi. She dominates one's whole life, both external and internal, his feelings and thoughts. She is the basis of all action, both conscious and spontaneous. For the Batutsi the cow is the most precious, beautiful, and beloved thing they own. For this reason she always is mentioned in compliments and polite phrases.

If you wish to extol a man's strength and handsomeness, you say to him: "uli mfizi (you are a bull)." With this designation, for example, Musinga's court honored His Highness, Duke Adolf Friedrich of Mecklenburg. The other members of the expedition, in accordance with their rank, were given the title, "children of the great bull," which we Europeans certainly find less flattering. To a young man whom they wish to compliment on his handsomeness, they often say: "ufite amaso nki yi nyana (you have eyes like a calf)." For the same reason Europeans are often told that their beard is like a cow's tail, their hair like cow's hair, etc.

Not only the polite phrases of the Mututsi ["mu-," a prefix indicating singular in number] but his greeting as well is associated with the cow. He uses the word amasho, meaning "herd," which it seems, is an abbreviation of the phrase, "to you a herd." The reply is amasho ngore, "to you a female herd," or, in other words, "May you have cows that will give you calves." This greeting is common throughout Ruanda. I found it as far north as the Rutshuru. Beyond this river, on my way from Bugoye to the village of Rutshuru, I found that the people no longer responded to amasho.

576 Farewells are an exception. The Mututsi says: "Kumana (God be with you)."

Similarly, when they give thanks for a present, they say: "ulakarama, ulakahora n'Imana (live, meet Imana)."

In Mulera an older farewell seems to have been preserved which is said to occur in Nduga only in songs. The Mulera says: "Mahoro (peace be with you)." The returning traveler is greeted in a similar manner: "Waje mahoro (peace attends your coming)."

576 554 Finally, the person of higher rank always greets an inferior first to show the latter that he has been noticed and is granted this

516 554 attention. Also, in contrast to our forms of etiquette, it is customary for the one who pours a drink, be it milk, beer, or even water, always to drink first, even though he is usually of a [125] lower social rank than the one for whom the drink is poured. This custom is easily explained: the one who proffers the drink must prove that it is good, that is to say, not poisoned.

231 805 The Mututsi also shows his high regard for the cow in the words for the time of day and the position of the sun. Early morning is expressed by *inka zili munama*, "the cows have been let out of the kraal." About eight o'clock in the morning is *inka zahahutse*, "the cows have gone to graze." At noon he says: "*inka zishooka* (the cows have gone to drink)." *Inka zitaha*, "the cows are returning," means that it is about six o'clock in the evening. *Inka zikamwa*, "the cows are being milked," means that it is between seven and eight in the evening.

231 192 The Batutsi use special terms to indicate the size of their herds.

Mfite kanyana, "I have a calf," means a small herd of not more than 10 head.

Mfite akaka, "I have a small cow," means a herd of 30 to 60 head.

Mfite inka imwe or *mfite inka*, "I have a cow," means several herds.

[556] If you say of a person that he has many cows, you are using a general expression meaning he is very influential and rich.

231 All the Mututsi's interests are bound up with the cow. Once when Ishirangabo, the brother of the present king, who conducted Count Von Gōtzen through Ruanda, visited Father L. Classe and me, he said: "*Kireka umwami, inka zihuta byose* (the cow is more important than anything except the king)."

The hope of obtaining a cow from the king, the chief, or a well-to-do man makes the Mututsi a willing client, eager to please his chosen master.

The most insignificant man who puts himself at the service of someone a little more influential hopes not to be forgotten when, on occasion, his master is given a cow.

231
556 Even the great chiefs flatter the king in the hope of enlarging their herds. On every occasion they repeat the time-honored phrase: "You can never have enough cows," which in our capitalistic society is tantamount to saying: "You can never have enough money."

576
231 If a man enters the service of another man, he introduces himself quite simply with the phrase, "naje kukusaba amata," "I come to get milk," or "umpe amata, unkize," "give me milk, heal me."

[126] In polite discourse it is customary to address a person as a bestower of cattle or gratefully to remind him of a previous gift of a cow.

[554] If a man of higher social rank stumbles as he walks, his attendants say: "humura, wampaye inka (calm yourself, you who have given me a cow)." This may not be literally true, but it emphasizes the man's higher rank.

609 Among themselves the Batutsi speak of the Europeans as gituku, "the red ones." It is interesting to note that the Abyssinians call themselves "the red ones" in contrast to white Europeans and black Negroes whom they do not esteem very highly (1).

1. According to a verbal report by the Russian Embassy physician in Addis Ababa, Dr. A. Kochanowski.

In Ruanda the word bazungu refers to the colored retinue of Europeans, their servants and soldiers. Thus, when my donkey boy detoured around our camp which was on a hill and took a lower road, I was told: "muzungu aise epfo," meaning "muzungu passed by down below."

609
262
186 The Batutsi have absolutely no reason for welcoming Europeans with warmth and enthusiasm. At the very least their comfort is disturbed by the intruders. For this reason they sometimes make very unflattering remarks about them. The Europeans' chief offense is that they are not fastidious about their diet. In contrast to local custom, they eat everything; in fact, like the despised Batwa, they do not even scorn eggs and chickens, which the Mututsi finds disgusting. Thus, Europeans and their retinues are given the scornful epithets mpyesi, "hyenas," and bikoko or bisumba, "wild beasts."

609 If a Mututsi approaches a European, he covers his mouth and
201 nose with his hand. This gesture immediately sets the Batutsi
186 apart from their subjects; the Bahutu and the Batwa do not do this.
It is difficult to explain the reason for this gesture. The chief
motive is probably the fear of being poisoned. I repeatedly
noticed that when I handled their pipes to examine the decorations,
they did not go on smoking them. Another reason for this custom
[826] is vanity; the Batutsi seem to regard their protruding mouths as
ugly. Thus, it was very difficult to photograph Musinga with his
mouth uncovered. Another reason why they cover their mouths
may be the odor of Europeans, which is unpleasant to them.
Washed with soap and water, Europeans are said to smell like
[302] corpses to the Batutsi who are pomaded and perfumed with rancid
butter.

609 During my stay in Nyanza and after the departure of our [127]
186 expedition, which reduced the number of Europeans to ten, Musinga
grew quite weary of the strangers. This was brought out, among
other things, by an amusing incident. He decided that the offensive European odor had even got into his house, so he had the box
of toilet soap which had been presented to him thrown into the
swamp. Previously he had kept it in his royal treasure chamber.

It is clear that Europeans, with their angular, nervous movements and their ungainly, short, broad frames, so much more similar in build to the despised Bahutu than to the aristocratic Batutsi, are objects of secret derision. For example, I overheard the remark that the Europeans wear shoes to cover up the hoofs which they have in common with their donkeys.

[626] A Munyaruanda [Ruanda] who associates with Europeans is
given the name inyanga Ruanda, "apostate," "renegade." Literally
the word means "Ruanda hater" and is derived from the word
kuhanga, "to hate." The name is regarded as a very great insult.

[582] The Batutsi are very exclusive. In their scorn of others they
go so far as to avoid taking women and children from the subjugated
Bahutu and limit themselves to women of their own tribe who are
very free and easily accessible for men of their race.

181 According to all the Europeans who had anything to do with
563 them, the Batutsi are cowardly. In contrast to them, the Bahutu,
who form the bulk of the Ruanda conscriptees, are praised for their

181 military virtues. In view of this, it is difficult to explain the rule
563 of the Batutsi minority. We are obliged to assume either that
after the formation of the large states the herdsmen enjoyed an
era of peace long enough to cause such a far-reaching psychic reorientation or that the privileged position of the Batutsi is the result of intellectual superiority.

563 The present power of the Batutsi is due to the clever way in
which they play the Bahutu off against each other. The Bahutu
[578] are powerless against outsiders because of their internal feuds.
In contrast, the Batutsi always present a solid front and defeat them because of their superior internal organization. The Bahutu, therefore, regard them as great magicians and are very much afraid of them.

Dr. Hans Meyer gives the following account of the conditions in the southern regions:

"In Urundi and in Uha the Watussi are much less prominent in public affairs and in dealings with Europeans than they are in Ruanda. You see few of them in the villages, often only one in every community, namely, the mtuale [official] of the chief who lives away from the main roads. Their domination over the Wahutu is by no means as great as in Ruanda." (1)

[113]

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1. Travel reports of Prof. Hans Meyer on German East Africa. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, p. 355.

[162] [128] The Batutsi make up barely a tenth of the population
of Ruanda. Their number is greater in Kissaka and Nduga, but
in the northwest there are probably less than 120,000. The Batutsi
[163] are said to be less fertile than the Bahutu. Whether their lower
infant mortality compensates for this I do not know.

The Mututsi is by nature entirely different from the Muhutu,
even if one disregards the obvious anthropological differences. He
[481] moves differently and carries his spear in an entirely different
563 fashion, grasping the end of the lower eighth of the weapon and
191 leaning it against his shoulder. His accent in speaking is also

563 entirely different. In fact, with a little practice, one can recognize
191 members of the herdsman aristocracy by their pronunciation.
This leads one to believe that the pronunciation of the Batutsi has
special phonetic characteristics which may throw light on their
former idiom.

563 Bahutu. The difference between the Batutsi and their subjects
is so great that by comparison all local differences in individual
provinces disappear, and the country seems a homogeneous
whole. The herdsmen in the minority are the most conspicuous because
of their privileged position. They are closely united and
give the entire country its homogeneous stamp.

Numerically the Batwa are so weak and so little in evidence that even in the west where there are more of them, they are not conspicuous. Also local differences are not apparent. Consequently territorial differentiation in the country is manifest chiefly in the second population element, the Bahutu farmers.

563 They make up the conservative element which supports the
178 entire edifice of the state and ensures the stability of the established
order. However, they have little capability for independently
organizing large states. They do, however, maintain the established
forms and even preserve the traditions of a vanquished political
organization. Indeed, traces of former conditions are found
where individual provinces have given up their independent political
existence and have been absorbed into a highly centralized state.
[184] The Bahutu of the individual provinces show important differences
[101] and are themselves aware of these. Thus, when they speak of the
Bagoye, Balera, and Banyanduga, they always mean the Bahutu.
It is only in Kissaka that the term Banyakissaka stands for the inhabitants
in general, and here memories of the state that united
Bahutu and Batutsi are still very much alive. We must also not
[101] overlook the fact that the Bahutu of Bgisha in the southern part
of Rutshuru call themselves Barundu or Barondo. For this reason
it seems to me that the names of the countries of Urundi and Ruanda
should be associated with the Bahutu substratum living there.

563 [129] The Bahutu are essentially more heterogeneous than
142 the Batutsi, although throughout the country they have many common
traits. They are strikingly different from the herdsman aristocracy

563 in their smaller stature, their squarer build, and their shorter legs.
142 The contrast is strongest in Mulera and Bugoye where the Bahutu
gradually show transitions to the Bantu of the Congo forest. In
central Ruanda the Bahutu show a not inconsiderable Batutsi influence.
Here their features are more regular and more finely chiseled,
their bodies not so stocky, and their heads longer. It is probable,
[144] therefore, that the Muhutu owes the characteristics which distinguish
him from the Bantu of the Congo forest chiefly to the
"Hamitic" influence of the Batutsi. However, we must not lose
sight of the possibility of a concurrent Nilotic influence which is
so striking among the Massai and Bari.

167 Emigrants from the Congo state have played an important
101 role in the settlement of Mulera and Bugoye. Dr. Kandt (1) uses
the name Bakiga (Wakiga) for the immigrants. He translates it as
"inhabitant of Pori." My inquiry revealed that "Bakiga" is the
general term for the inhabitants of mountains, in contrast to
"Banyamuyaga," the inhabitants of plains. On his surveyor's
103 sketch of the map of Mpororo, Lieutenant Schwarz calls the
country southwest of Buischingato (Luizigatu) "Rukiga." This was
formerly called Ndorwa, since it is mountainous. The region
southwest of Nyundo is also called Rukiga. Father P. Barthelèmy,
who knows the country and is versed in the language, believes
that the name of the Rugege Forest in the southeastern part of Kivu
is derived from Rukiga.

167 The immigrants from the Congo are closely related to the
101 Banyaruanda. On the Belgian map (2) the inhabitants of the
western edge of the graben [Rift Valley] are designated simply as

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1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 290.

[113] 2. Carte de l'État Indépendant du Congo [Map of the Independent Congo State]. Scale 1:100,000. Lith. Justus Perthes, Gotha, 1907.

167 101 [194] Barundi [Rundi]. Bashi or Bahunde are the terms the Bagoye use in referring to the people from Bunyabungu, Itambi, Buyungu, Kishari, Butundwe, and even Bgisha, with whom they can easily make themselves understood. The first designation supposedly alludes to the sibilants which are so prominent in their dialect. In their culture the Bashi also show many similarities with the Congo Bantu. Thus, the anthropological and cultural transition to the Forest Bantu takes place within the Kirundi language area. The similarity of the Bahutu who were not influenced by the Batutsi to the Forest Bantu argues in favor of the view that the population of Ruanda is the result of a metamorphosis caused by contact with the Batutsi.

563 144 [130] Batwa. The Batwa comprise the third element in the population of Ruanda. They stand out because of their relatively small stature. The contrast between them and the very tall Batutsi is so striking that the altogether erroneous identification of Batwa with Pygmies has gained credence even among such an outstanding expert on the country as Dr. Kandt. (1) I have taken a great many measurements, and I am forced to conclude that this assumption is not valid. I agree with Lieutenant Von Parisch (2) who found that the Batwa were only slightly shorter than the Bahutu.

Prof. Hans Meyer (3) made the same observation. He says:

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1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 303.

[113] 2. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903 [Two Journeys Through Ruanda, 1902 to 1903]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 76.

3. Travel Reports of Prof. Hans Meyer on German East Africa. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, p. 349.

563 144 "The Batwa at Musinga's court and in the Issawi region, as well as those in northwestern Urundi, are not very different from the Wahutu, and there is doubtless considerable blood relationship."

Baumann (4) goes still farther and maintains that the Batwa

4. Baumann, O., Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle (Berlin, 1894), p. 215.

are no smaller than the Barundi.

The latter opinion is also erroneous. Anthropological analysis (5) proved that the Batwa do have a Pygmy element as

[113] 5. Czekanowski, J., "Verwandtschaftsbeziehungen der zentral-afrikanischen Pygmäen [Aspects of Kinship of the Pygmies of Central Africa]," Korrespondenz-Blatt der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1910, pp. 101-109.

one of their components. Although other, subsequent mixtures have lessened the importance of this element, nevertheless it accounts for many characteristic features of the Batwa.

The Batwa are strikingly similar to the Forest Bantu and stand midway between the latter and the Bahutu. This conclusion, unexpected at first glance, is simply explained if we assume that the more isolated Batwa were less open to outside influences and that anthropologically they are relicts of an older order in Ruanda. If we assume that formerly the population of Ruanda was more closely related to the Forest Bantu, then the Batwa, from whom we may learn about former conditions, must also be similar to the Forest Bantu. This is, in fact, the case. Apart from their anthropological relationship, the Batwa are also said to resemble the Forest 563 266 Bantu in a very characteristic custom. They are cannibals, at least in northwestern Ruanda among the western group of volcanoes. Nonconflicting rumors about this custom have been reported by both Count Von Götzen (6) and Von Parisch (7).

[113] 6. Götzen, G.A., Count Von, Durch

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266
[113] Afrika von Ost nach West [Through Africa From East to West] (Berlin, 1899), p. 233.

7. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 77.

[131] My research has led me to the same conclusion. The Pygmies of the Ituri Forest are not cannibals, as is well known. This is the chief difference between them and all their neighbors.

411 Like the Forest Bantu the Batwa are said to put traps and poisoned thorns on their paths and to guard them with poisoned hand darts. They also use a bow with a rattan string. Otherwise the Batwa differ very little from the Banyaruanda in their material culture. I shall speak of this in more detail later.

197 Whether the Batwa have their own language must be left as an open question. The Kitwa ["Ki-," a prefix indicating a language] words collected by Father J. Van der Burgt (1) are familiar in Ruanda and are said to belong to an archaic local dialect of Kirundi.

194 Father L. Classe (2) points out that the Batwa have difficulty

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[113] 1. Van der Burgt, Father J. M. M., Éléments d'une Grammaire Kirundi [Elements of a Kirundi Grammar]. Supplement. Langue des Watwa (kitwa)-Pygmées [The Language of the Watwa Pygmies, Kitwa]. Mitteilungen aus dem Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin 1902, Section III, Afrikanische Studien [African Studies], pp. 79-108.

2. Classe, Father L., Moeurs et Coutumes des Bagoye [Manners and Customs of the Bagoye] (Les Missions Catholiques, 1905), p. 414.

194 pronouncing 's' and that their speech is more aspirated. However, I noticed this not only among the Batwa but also among the true Pygmies on the Ituri. Father Classe says that their language
197 seems to be midway between Kigwe (Kissukuma), Runyambo, Ruziba, and Luganda. In other words, it is a dialect of the interlacustrine group.

Father P. Barthelèmy told me that the Batwa who accompanied him on his trip up the volcano spoke an idiom among themselves which was unfamiliar to him. He could not say whether this was a northern dialect similar to Ruhunde or a separate language.

563 Although everyone finds it disgusting to eat with a Mutwa,
186 the latter despises the Muhutu who must till his field and go about his daily chores with a bent back. The free Mutwa hunter from the forest in turn despises the Batwa living in the villages whose chief occupation is pottery. He calls them, scornfully, banyamikenke, "sons of the grass". (3)

3. Parisch, F. R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 76.

563 The Forest Mutwa is very proud of his unrestricted way of
674 life and his independence. He regards the forest as his property in which he has completely free rein, and he feels that the robbing of intruders who cross the forest borders is his sacred right. He defends his forest from intruders just as the Muhutu does his fields.

Even the Bahutu acknowledge this right of the Batwa to a certain extent. They allow themselves to be robbed in the primeval forest without offering the least resistance, for they maintain that without [132] the consent of the Batwa they would not even get out of the forest. This is quite possible, since the hunters are so well oriented in the forest that they could find ample opportunity to ambush and shoot their victims.

563 Despite these advantages, the Batwa's struggle against the
311 encroaching Bahutu is completely hopeless. The dreaded hunters are being pushed back everywhere by the farmers. With the

563 destruction of the forest their independence is at an end, and they
311 become pariahs.

When guerrilla warfare can no longer stem the flood of farmers driven toward the forest because of the land shortage, there is nothing left for the Batwa but to complain of the new state of affairs. This is the story with which Kahima greeted me when I paid him a visit with Father L. Delmas. Originally Kahima's Batwa lived in the primeval forest, but constant clearing had so shifted the forest border that eight huts were already outside the forest, while the rest were still scattered within it. The Batwa, however, do not yet till their own fields. At most their women help the Bahutu in the fields and obtain food in payment.

563 In Ruanda one does, however, find cases where Batwa turn
[591] to agriculture out of dire necessity. Thus, in the vicinity of Ruasa there is a Mutwa rainmaker who is a leper. When his trade became less profitable because of the growing missionary influence, he began tilling a field. In one respect, however, he remained a true Mutwa: he was unable to keep any small livestock; in no time it had all been killed and eaten.

The relationship between the Forest Batwa and the Banyaruanda is the same as that between the Pygmies and the full-sized Negroes. Each Batwa group recognizes a Ruanda chief as its head, to whom they bring the yield from hunting in exchange for agricultural produce. This vassal relationship existed between Kahima and Chuma.

We must, however, point out a difference. The Batwa acknowledge the sovereignty of the ruler of Ruanda. From time to time they bring the king presents. These are presented to the king through the mediation of their Muhutu patron, Chuma, who is said to be the king's client (mugaragu).

Anthropologically, the contrast between Batutsi and Batwa is even greater than between the farmers and the herdsman aristocracy, but even so we cannot overlook the strong political solidarity of the privileged and the pariahs. If a Mututsi sacrifices sheep, the Mutwa eats the meat. When he slaughters anything, he does not forget the Mutwa. Between these two minority elements there is

563 always an understanding, and they often live side by side. In spite of all their prejudices, they [133] are obliged to stick together in order to assert themselves against the farmers who are a large majority in the country.

361 621 There are far fewer Batwa than Batutsi. The extensive nature of their livelihood makes a concentrated Batwa population impossible. Larger, purely Batwa settlements are to be found only in the primeval forest and in Nyanza near Musinga. Otherwise the Batwa are widely scattered amidst the Bahutu population.

I am acquainted with the following Batwa groups:

1. Batwa under Kahima of Kazu. Kahima is the subordinate of the Muhutu, Chuma, who lives three hours south of Nyundo. Together with his petty subchief, Sebuleza, he has under him up to 150 Batwa, including women and children.

2. Batwa under Ngunzu. Ngunzu is subordinate to the Muhutu chief, Mutubula. His village is situated on a mountain near Kahama and can be seen from the third forest clearing on the way from Ruasa to Kisenyi. This group is said to be at least as strong as the other, even though one can see only seven huts from the road.

3. Batwa under Lukara are settled on the pass between Muhawura and Mgahinga. They are probably not much fewer in number. From Lukara's kraal we could see only two or three Batwa huts, and Lukara brought me only a dozen adults to be measured, but the fact that they had to be driven out of Belgian territory by military force shows that there must be a larger number. Mgahinga owes the name "Kirunga ya Batwa" to them.

4. Batwa of Mikeno. Dr. Kandt (1) visited this group. He mentions two groups of huts. The first has two huts; the second is four hours distant and contains six to eight huts. The latter are situated around a clearing. There are from 15 to 20 Batwa here.

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1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1894), pp. 300, 301, 304.

Dr. Kandt (2) mentions, however, that there are also Batwa

2. Kandt, R., "Bericht über meine Reisen und gesamte Tätigkeit in Deutsch-Ostafrika [Report on my Journeys and Entire Work in German East Africa]," Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1900 [Reports on the German Protectorates 1900], p. 246.

living in the forests of Sabinio.

In Ndorwa the following influential Batwa chiefs were mentioned.

5 and 6. Ngurube and Katulenge. Ngurube's Batwa are called Puniu. (3)

3. Parisch, F.R. Von "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 to 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 76.

7. The Batwa on Idjwi Island were visited by Dr. J. Mildbraed and Dr. H. Schubotz and are supposed to be more similar to the Pygmies than the rest of the Batwa.

8. Batwa of southern Ruanda. There are large colonies of Batwa in the Rugege Forest and in the forests in the southwestern part of the province of Nduga. This [134] group is called Mashami or Machaba. Their forest belongs to the Njaruguru country which was formerly under the jurisdiction of Chief Kaizuka (1).

1. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 76.

9. Batwa from Kabgaye. Apart from these larger groups, I met a colony of 20 to 25 who lived in the vicinity of the Kabgaye Mission (Marangara) and were potters.

10. Finally there are Batwa in Nyanza who live there in order to serve the king. From time to time they are relieved by fellow tribesmen.

000 fellow-tribesmen.

162 I constantly inquired about the Batwa, and since I gained no further information, I think I can assume that I have herewith listed the most important groups. Accordingly, the number of Batwa in Ruanda does not exceed 3,000, although there are individuals scattered in many different places. There were two or three in Issawi and a rainmaker in Ruasa.

614 The Batwa belong to the same clans as the rest of the Banyaruanda. Thus, the Batwa of Kahima belong to the Mugessera clan, and Kahima seems to be their clan elder, a man of little authority. The Batwa of Kabgaye, as well as those of Muhawura, belonged to various clans and may perhaps be regarded as remnants of clan groups which have been broken up.

[135]

Chapter 7

Occupations

241 Agriculture. Agriculture is the chief occupation of the Bahutu. It is carried on quite intensively and with care, reaching its maximum in the vicinity of Lake Kivu. The chief products are: millet (masaka), sweet potatoes (bidjumba), peas (bishimbo), and bananas (bitoke). The following are also grown in large quantities: corn (kigori), peanuts (ichiema), eleusine [a kind of millet] (buro), gourds (mungu), tobacco (itabi), and a little manioc (mukembe).

In Mulera and Bugoye peas are the staple whereas in Kissaka, Nduga, in the northeast territory, and especially in Bgisha, millet is the principal food.

The following methods used in Ruanda agriculture bespeak its high level of development: the use of fertilizer, unknown in eastern Europe; artificial irrigation; and terraced fields on the steep mountainsides.

The care that goes into farming is shown primarily by the way the farmer covers the ground of the banana groves with leaves and rotting banana stalks, so that the moisture necessary to the

241 plants is conserved. Cow manure is reportedly used as fertilizer in the banana groves as well as in the fields, and especially on the gourd plantations in certain parts of Ruanda. In Bugoye, however, where the soil is very rich, fertilizer is not used. Here, it is said, there is danger that the growth of millet become too lush and fall down. The farmers try to avert this by binding the stalks into tiny bundles during the growing season.

312 One sees a great many irrigation systems north of Lake
241 Mohasi. In Mulera, on the other hand, where there seems to be more rain, I did not see any. Frequently the water is brought in through narrow canals from dammed-up streams. For example, on the northern slope of Mount Ndisa near the Nyawarongo River I saw a water system two kilometers long [136] which descended gently to the plantations on the foothills and could be heard along its course. The main line had a number of outlets stuffed with sod, which could carry the necessary water to the pastures on the mountain slopes. The water is conducted through deep furrows separating the rectangular beds. It was only in Bgisha near Rutshuru that I saw a marshy lowland in which earth was thrown into mounds almost a meter high. These peculiar beds were sown to peas.

242 The first terraced fields which I had an opportunity to see were in the country north of Lake Mohasi, but they occur throughout the rest of northwestern Ruanda. In many cases they seem to be unintentional and were probably formed naturally when the slope was tilled. The terraces are two to three meters high.

In Ruanda there seems to be a certain crop rotation. In Itambi beans and peas are first planted on the cleared land and, after that, millet. In Mulera I was told that this rotation is also adhered to in fields that have been planted for some time. After the millet harvest, however, the ground is allowed to lie fallow. This order of rotation is not always maintained. One often sees millet planted along with beans. This occurs even in cases where there is no lack of space. I was told that beans can be harvested earlier without harming the millet.

Letting the fields lie fallow, it would seem, is also not a regular practice. In several cases I found that it was due to the

242 impossibility of planting the field at the proper time. For example, the Bahutu told me that near the farm of Lwakadygi several fields had to remain uncultivated because it was too late when the Batutsi moved their cattle into the forest.

Fig. 25. Field Hoe from Julera. (1/12 actual size. III E 13108. Length of handle: 113 centimeters; length of blade: 31 centimeters; width 19.5 centimeters.)

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The soil is cultivated with a clumsy iron hoe (issuka). It has a long, heavy handle which is thicker at the top. The blade is fastened to the handle by means of a point at the back. [137] The point is driven into a hole burned into the handle. This method of hafting is used in the Bahinda states and throughout Buhaya. In Toro, Bunyoro, Buganda, and Nkole (at least in the north where I had a chance to observe this), the hoe is fastened somewhat differently. Here the handle consists of a forked branch cut from the trunk a little below the fork. The two parts of the fork are cut to an uneven length, the longer one being the handle and the shorter one, cut diagonally, bears the blade. The upper, protruding part of the blade is tied to the handle. This type of hoe is very awkward and a great strain to use, because the short handle forces the workers to bend over very low.

The short hoe seems to be an older type which is dying out. My Wassukuma [Sukuma] porters told me that among their people the short-handled, bound hoe was commonly used in ancient

241 times, but that later it was replaced by a long-handled one
412 with a hole bored at one end. They also said that at present
it differs from the Ruanda hoe only in the fact that it is ligher.

The very primitive wooden hoe, less frequently used in Ruanda, is somewhat similar to the older form. It, too, consists of an unevenly forked branch, but in this case the shorter end is pointed and used as the hoe. The few samples which I saw in the region had an iron tip on the pointed end. The people I questioned about it said that formerly this tip had not
[171] been used. Later I saw identical hoes among the Niloto-Hamitic Kakwa; these were without the iron tip. I was told that they were used exclusively for clearing.

In Ruanda the women as well as the men use the hoe. In this respect Ruanda is very different from the other regions of the northwest where hoe culture is practiced.

311 There are large aggregates of tilled fields only in the north and the west and along the northern shore of Lake Mohasi. Otherwise the fields are merly oases in large sections of pasture-land and bush.

[412]

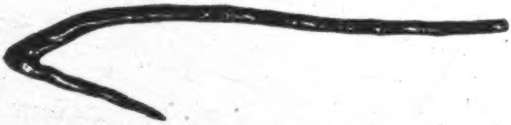

Fig. 26. Wooden Hoe with Iron Tip from Mulera. (1/2 actual size. L15061.)

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245 The banana groves usually occupy the ridges of hills; at least this is the case in Kissaka, Nduga, and Mulera. In Bugoye and in southern Bgisha where the settlements were very high, the groves are somewhat lower. In Bugoye where the lava is very much decomposed, there are large [138] banana plantations on the lava plains themselves. In Bgisha they are somewhat higher along the edges of these plains. Bananas bear almost all year round except in the driest season. The plants are hoed, but otherwise they require little care. The banana crop is used chiefly to make beer (nzoga).

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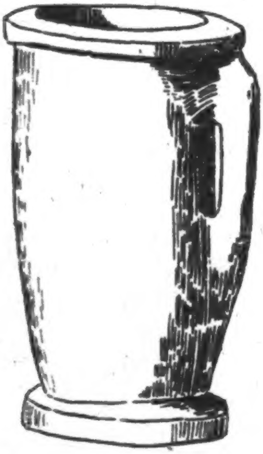

Fig. 27. Mortar from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13095. 44 centimeters high.)

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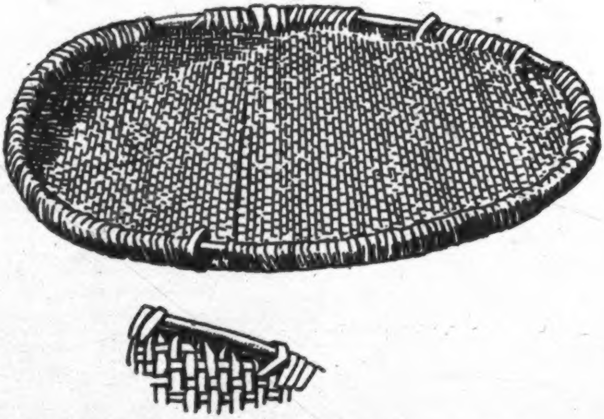

Fig. 28. Woven Shield for Winnowing Millet, from Mulera. (1/6 actual size, III E 13678. 75 x 61 centimeters.)

243 311 The millet fields lie chiefly on the slopes of the hills. They are hoed and seeded after the first rain. Some time later they are weeded. The main harvest takes place in the middle of the dry season. I saw a harvest in Kissaka during the latter half of July. In Nduga it was already over in August. In Mulera the harvest is said to be at the end of February and in Bgisha at the end of November and the beginning of December.

244 311 Sweet potatoes are planted in marshy lowlands and irrigated fields. They are the staple during the dry season when other supplies are exhausted and the millet is not yet ripe.

The land at the highest altitude is used for peas, although one often finds fields of peas at a lower altitude than banana groves. The highest fields I saw were on Mount Ndisa, high above the settlements, probably extending up to 2,000 meters. I could not discover the reason for the high location of these fields. [139] To judge from the surrounding country, I did not have the impression that it was so densely populated that the people were forced to lay out their fields so inconveniently. Peas and beans are harvested at the end of the rainy season.

251 Field crops, with the exception of bananas and sweet potatoes, are kept in storehouses (kigega). Millet is cut off short and left lying unthreshed until it is needed. Only then is it threshed in small quantities in mortars and winnowed by the wind on large woven shields. Bananas and sweet potatoes are brought from the plantations as needed. The bunches to be used for making beer are kept in the huts to continue ripening. Here considerable stores of other crops, especially beans and peas, are kept in large baskets (umuhiri) made air tight with cow dung.

314 Forestry. In Ruanda we can hardly speak of forest cultivation, despite intensive farming and the widespread cultivation of the land in densely populated areas where forests have shrunk to a minimum. The Muhutu is the worst enemy of the forest. He uses wood to build his huts and storehouses, his boats and tools, and to cook his food, but he does not husband it, and in this respect he is no better than the peasant of eastern Europe.

311 According to unanimous reports by the natives, the country of Ruanda is undergoing a rapid change, and deforestation is making great advances. Formerly the country is said to have been covered

311 with extensive forests which were destroyed by farmers, so that at the present time in northern Nduga, for example, there are no forests to be found. Quite recently the forest boundary has receded in Mulera and Bugoye as a result of colonization. When I visited

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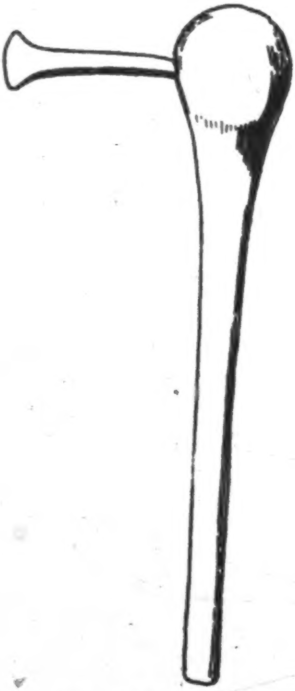

Fig. 29. Axe from Mulera: (1/6 actual size. III E 13111. Handle: 68 centimeters long.)

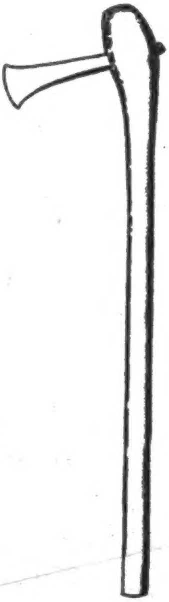

Fig. 30. Axe from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13060. Handle: 30 centimeters.)

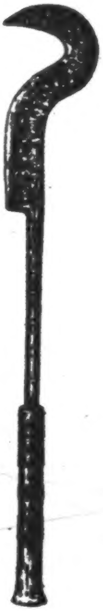

Fig. 31. Bush Knife from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L 15036.)

the Batwa of Chief Chuma, I saw that half their huts were already surrounded by Bahutu fields; the others were still hidden in the forest. In only a few years the farmers have penetrated this far; the Batwa could all still remember the time when their village lay deep in the forest.

412 The larger trees are felled with axes; smaller ones and the brush are cut with sickle-shaped bush knives. The axes (intolezo)

442 have a sharp, chisel-like blade (igembe) which fans out at the cutting end. Its narrower part (intereri) fits into the hole (intoboro) at the thick end (impumo) of the handle (omuhini). The bush knife is entirely forged out of iron. The upper third is wide and has one sharp cutting edge (lulimi). The upper half (isatuliro) of this third is bent like a sickle and comes to a point. The remaining two thirds is round. The lower third is driven into a wooden [140] handle (kilindi) that is slightly thicker at the lower end and reinforced above with wire or smoothly forged iron.

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As a result of the extensive deforestation, the lumber shortage is a very important economic problem. In some places wood must be brought in from long distances. In the northeast where wood is hard to come by, dried cow dung is used for fuel.

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Under the influence of Catholic missions the natives have begun to plant trees. Moreover, outside the missions' sphere of influence I saw new plantings of mussavi in Ruangeri on the road to Kisenyi, four and a half hours from Ruasa.

231 Animal Husbandry. The inhabitants of Ruanda keep cows, goats, sheep, chickens, and dogs. Stockraising plays an important role in the economic and political life. Cattle farming is almost exclusively the [141] occupation of the ruling Batutsi. Sheep and especially goats are raised chiefly by the agricultural Bahutu. It is only in Mulera and Bugoye that the Bahutu commonly have cows. The animals are cared for by the men. Out in the pasture, however, one sometimes sees a girl tending a cow or a small herd of goats.

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Cattle raising is considered the most distinguished occupation a man can have. This phenomenon is explained by the superior social position of the Batutsi. "In Uganda, where cattle raising is despised, it is almost impossible to persuade a Waganda [Ganda] to go into it." (1)

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1. Wilson, C.T., and Felkin, R. W., Uganda und der Ägyptische Sudan [Uganda and the Egyptian Sudan] (Stuttgart, 1883), Vol. I, p. 67.

234 Although the large-horned Batutsi cow is used almost exclusively for its milk, it is not a good milk producer. The annual milk production of a medium-sized cow, according to the reports of missionaries, does ~~not~~ exceed 400 to 500 liters. Dr. Kandt (2) says that an excellent cow gives three liters of milk daily.

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2. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 283.

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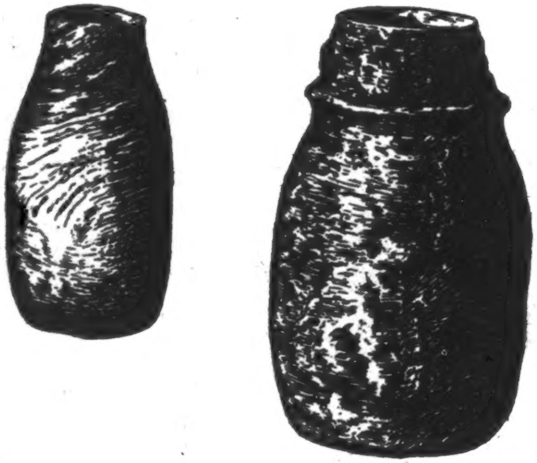

Fig. 32. Wooden Vessels for Storing Milk, from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L 15167. 33 1/2 centimeters high. L 15165 . 45 centimeters high.)

The cow is milked only in the presence of its calf. The Banyakissaka told me that only then would a cow give milk. If the calf is accidentally killed, they deceive her with the calf's hide for the first few days, giving it to her to lick during milking so she will not hold back the milk. Only after some time can she be milked without the hide. The calves are brought to such before the animals are let out in the morning and after they return at night. After the calf has drunk for a while, it is taken away from the cow and held while the cow is milked by the cowherd. When the milking is finished, the calf is returned to the cow and allowed to suck until it stops of its own accord.

234 [142] While the cow is being milked, a fire of cow dung is kept burning beside her. The smoke keeps off the troublesome stable flies, and the animals can stand quietly.

Young calves are kept in special small huts or in closed-off portions of the entrance room of the dwellings (umuliango).

415 The milk is stored in cylindrical vessels (kianzi) crudely carved out of wood. The vessels are washed with cow urine, and from time to time they are fumigated. A cone-shaped lid
272 is made from a bundle of straw sewed to form a spiral. The milk is drunk chiefly when it is curdled (kivugutu); it is beaten with a small stick to change this consistency. Fresh milk (amata) and buttermilk (amachunde) are also drunk.

[413]

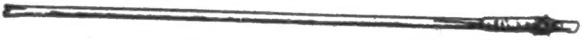

Fig. 33. Arrow for Bloodletting, Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E 13744. 58 1/2 centimeters long.)

Besides milk, the blood of cattle is also drunk. For this purpose the bulls are bled from time to time by shooting a special arrow into the neck vein at close range. The short iron tip of the arrow is set into a wooden shaft. The upper part of the shaft is bound, to prevent the wood from splitting and also to prevent the arrow from penetrating too deeply into the vein. The lower end of the arrow has a notch into which the bowstring fits. When the blood is drawn off, a tourniquet of rope is tied around the neck below the wound.

The blood is drunk either fresh or cooked. It is sometimes
[846] also mixed with milk, and in this form it is given to women after childbirth "to replace the lost blood."

232 Bloodletting is also practiced on sick animals by specialists. It is said that the animals are given the drawn blood as a reward.

262 Meat is eaten only on special occasions. Beef cattle have a very great value, and beef, therefore, is regarded as the greatest delicacy.

234 Butter is not eaten. It is used to anoint the body and to
302 smear on clothes. Large gourds (kisabo) are used for making butter;
they are held at the neck with one hand and rocked back and
forth on the ground. Butter is stored in small clay [143] and
415 wooden vessels (akachendo). The latter often have looped handles
and are then called uchende yo mukondo.

233 The local form of intensive agriculture on very fertile soil
is not easy to combine with the extremely extensive cattle raising.
Barn feeding is unknown. The animals graze all day in the open
and are locked into the kraal (lugo) at night. Thus, even in the
densely populated and highly agricultural regions, it is very diffi-
cult to keep even the milch cows near the settlements. The rest
of the animals are driven out to more remote pastures. For ex-
ample, the Bagoye drive their cows eastward into the primeval
233 forest on the watershed. The animals are cared for by special
465 Batutsi caretakers who are paid to do this. For his service the
herdsman gets the milk the first two months, since the cow is not
returned to the owner until her calf is two months old. The
herdsman also gets a jug of beer worth one hoe. He is, however,
held accountable for the cow and must replace animals which are
killed or stolen.

246 Pastures receive no special attention. On the northern slope of Mount Ndisa, however, I saw an irrigation system that watered the mountain meadows. Otherwise the steppes are merely burned off at the end of the dry season; this removes the withered grass and the young grass comes up abundantly after the first rain, the ground having been fertilized by the ashes. Needless to say, grass fires have greatly contributed to the deforestation of Ruanda, especially in the less populated areas. Granted that the forests have been destroyed by the farmers, nevertheless it is the herdsmen who make a second growth impossible. Grass fires rage throughout the country. In Mulera and Bugoye where everything is under cultivation, one sees fires only on the volcanic plains.

233 Since no fodder is stored, the cattle become very thin during
661 the dry season. It is not uncommon for Batutsi chiefs to have their
herds driven into the sweet potato plantations of their farmers,
where great damage is done. No matter how great their loss, the
Bahutu cannot drive the cows out nor resist in any way.

231 In the herdsman aristocracy of Ruanda the Muhutu must always yield to the cow. Cows have crowded out the Bahutu in certain parts of Ufumbiro, and they definitely eliminated the farmers from Mulera's lava plain. They depopulated the region around Nyanza. We can say, therefore, that cows are a powerful factor in shaping the landscape of Ruanda.

231 437 Transactions involving the cow play a very important part in economic life and judicial practices in Ruanda. These transactions take many forms.

[144] There is the simple sale where the price is paid at once or in installments (in goats). I also learned of another type of sale. The owner of two young bulls exchanges them for the unborn calf of a certain cow. If the calf is born a male, they wait for the next one. This transaction is known as kwatiriza. In kwatiriza, the milk, after the first two months during which the herdsman gets it, is divided between the buyer of the calf and the owner of the cow. However, there are often arrangements whereby half or even all the milk is simply bought up by someone.

Cows are for sale only in Mulera where they belong to Bahutu. Batutsi sell only young bulls. Calving cows are under no circumstances disposed of; they are only granted in feudal tenure. Even large bulls (mfizi) are not sold. I was repeatedly told that they cannot even be granted.

231 Goats are raised everywhere by the Bahutu. In the northwest sheep are raised in large numbers. I was presented with my first sheep on the route between Nyanza and Mulera, at the Nyawarongo ferry. One sees individual sheep everywhere. They are used for sacrificial purposes.

232 In this discussion of animal husbandry we must say a word about castration. This operation is familiar to the people of Ruanda and is performed chiefly on goats. It is said that the castration of cattle is forbidden by the king, but it is rumored that the cows one is forced to return are secretly cauterized in revenge. [304] Hunting dogs are also castrated. It is said, too, that enemies of the king are castrated.

224 Hunting. Hunting as the chief means of obtaining food is practiced only by the Batwa. They live on the yield of the hunt,

224 just as the Bahutu live by agriculture and the Batutsi by animal husbandry. The agricultural produce they require is obtained only by bartering game or by stealing.

The Batwa are most skillful hunters. Accompanied by their dogs, they pursue the game with bow and spear in hand. They are very skillful bowmen and can even shoot down birds. The king of Ruanda has received most of his ivory from them. In former times, before elephants became so scarce in the country, ivory is said to have been obtained in great quantities. The Batwa hunting grounds are the forests of the Congo watershed east of Lake Kivu and Ruzizi and the forests on the chain of volcanoes.

The other Banyaruanda also hunt a great deal, especially in Kissaka because of the wealth of game on the steppes. In the northeastern part of this province hunting plays an important role in the economy; here we find professional hunters (abahigi) and even elephant hunters (abayovu).

[145] Hunters usually work in groups. On hunting drives there are a large number of participants. They are organized by the head of the district who assembles the farmers equipped with spears and bows and arrows and accompanied by numerous dogs. Because of the extensive nature of the hunting grounds, signals are given with a cow horn. Nets are also used to mark off certain regions. The hunter who delivers the first blow gets the skin and a piece of meat; the others get only portions of meat. Valuable skins are given to the mutware [official], and the hunters share only in the meat. Hunting drives usually take place in the dry season, but sometimes they

Fig. 34. Harpoon Spear from Mulera. (1/12 actual size. III E 13769. 190 centimeters long.)

224 are organized at the beginning of the rainy season.

Elephant hunters work in small groups and use a spear. The following is the procedure when an elephant herd or a single old bull is sighted. At a carefully chosen place the spears are planted obliquely into the ground, their points directed toward the elephants. The hunters conceal themselves, with the exception of one who must go after a certain elephant. If the irritated animal attacks the hunter, the latter flees in the direction of the spears, so that the charging elephant will ram into one of them. The wounded animal is then attacked from the rear by the hunters in ambush. Elephant meat is said to be eaten in Kissaka. The mutware gets a tusk. Elephants are found chiefly in Bugansa, north of Kissaka.

Aside from drives and the use of decoys, wild game is also hunted with traps and trap pits. The traps consist of a snare lying on the ground and fastened at one end to a young tree bent to the ground. When the animal runs against the snare, the tree straightens out, draws the snare taut, and lifts the animal by its neck or a leg. The pits are carefully covered with foliage, and the captured animals are killed with spears and then divided up.

223 Birds are caught with slings, but they are also shot with bird arrows which are dull or have four points. Partridges are said to be pursued on foot and killed with a stick after the birds are exhausted.

224 In Mulera where hunters are very skillful, probably due to Batwa influence, [146] a great many otters are speared. They use a spear with a barbed head and a broadened end, which is said to be used also in hunting hippopotamuses. The hippopotamus hunters try to creep up on their prey in small boats, a very dangerous but also very much admired sport.

231 [552] Hunting dogs are greatly loved in Ruanda and kept in great numbers. Every chief has a rather large number of them. The dogs are called by special names. I realized how fond they were of their dogs once when the porters of our returning supply caravan stole a small dog. Its owner did not hesitate to follow my column on its westerly march for three or four hours and across two lakes, hoping that the porters would run into my column and that, with the help of a European, he would get back his property. This

231 [628] proved to be the case. I was told that work ceases for a day after a dog's death, and that on occasion blood revenge is exacted for the killing of a dog. The Banyaruanda maintain that a person kills a dog because he would really like to kill its master but does not dare.

The number of dogs kept in Ruanda is very large, and for this reason the porters returning to Lake Victoria took a number of dogs with them. A returning caravan of 200 porters which I met in Kissaka had at least 60 dogs. Several of them were quite young and had to be carried on the porters' backs for the two to three weeks' trip. One can scarcely show greater proof of affection.

231 534 Since the dogs generally do not bark, they are not often used as watch dogs. They usually wear small wooden or iron bells around their necks, dedicated to Ryangombe [a supernatural being] (insogera ya Ryangombe). Similar bells are tied around the necks of sheep and goats.

The iron bells commonly consist of two small, thin sheets of metal bent together, with a narrow, rounded slit at each end. Between the two sheets is a hollow space containing a small pellet large enough so that it cannot fall out through the slit. A string [147] is threaded through two small holes in the bell and tied to the collar. Captain W. Von Grawert found an entirely different bell among the Batwa of Ufumbiro. It consists of a narrow, triangular piece of sheet iron, the two lower ends of which are bent to form a cylinder. The tip is hammered thin and bent down, and on it hangs the clapper.

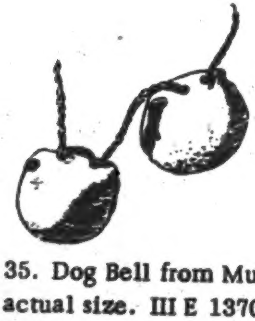

Fig. 35. Dog Bell from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E 13704. 6 centimeters in diameter.)

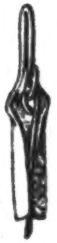

Fig. 36. Dog Bell from Ufumbiro, Batwa. 1/4 actual size. III E 6897. 10 1/2 centimeters long.)

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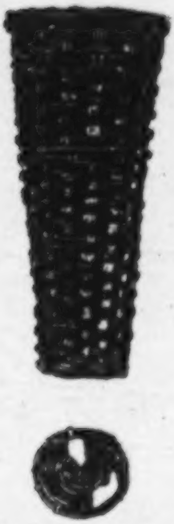

[413]

Fig. 37. Beehive from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13680. 80 centimeters long.)

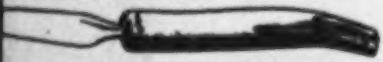

Fig. 38. Honey Knife from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13738. 28 centimeters long.)

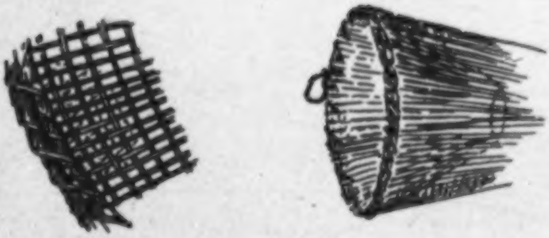

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Fig. 39. Fish Traps from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E 13743. 65 centimeters long.)

660 hammered thin and bent down, and on it hangs the clapper.

231 Beekeeping. Bee culture plays a considerable role in Ruanda [273] life. A great deal of honey is drunk; it is used as an additive to beer and is also mixed with water.

Bees are kept in baskets that are nearly cylindrical (imbutiba) and daubed with clay. At the bottom there are two small exits for the bees. The wider end provides an entrance for lifting out the honey, but otherwise it is closed off. Special long-handled [443] knives (ulukezo) with short, wide blades are used to cut out the combs. The baskets are generally set up in large numbers on tall trees where they will be dry, but they are also set horizontally on special frames that have crossed legs. These frames are placed on the ground near the huts. There are also many wild bees in the country.

The province of Mulera has the greatest number of bees. In [435] Bgisha a great deal of honey is sold. The price was two yards of material for two pots of about three liters each.

226 Fishing. The population near the lakes of Ruanda are fisherfolk. Net fishing is called kuteguza ifi. The various nets are called ujegwi, chera, and amahinda. The fish traps are called birumbi. They consist of a long cone into which is placed a second shorter one with its point cut off. The two are fastened together at their thicker basal ends. [148] There is little line fishing, but the fishhook is not unknown, although one does not see it very often.

501 The boats are simple dugouts about five meters long and 50 centimeters wide. They are very irregularly shaped, since the natural curve of the tree trunk is retained. The dugouts used on Lake Kivu are considerably larger. In Ruanda the sides of the boat are not built up by the addition of planks as is the case, for example, in Kiziba and Buganda. The boat's board formed by the edges of the hollowed-out trunk is higher or lower depending on the width or narrowness of the slit.

The oars (ngashi) are often carefully carved, and the blade (ulubega) is reinforced with a center rib (mugongo). The oars are free and held in the hand by the shaft (ulati).

501 In rowing, the oarsmen sit on the edges of the boat. Only the large Kivu canoes had seats which were fastened on either side with ropes passing through holes in the rim of the boat. The holes are made with a percussion drill (umutwero).

[227]

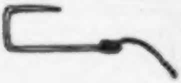

Fig. 40. Fishhook from Mukinjaga. (Actual size. III E 6896. 17 centimeters long.)

Industry. In Ruanda, as Dr. R. Kandt's (1) studies have already pointed out, industry has the character of handicraft or hired work. There are few branches of industry on the level of home industry where at times surplus goods not used in the household are sold. This is true, for example, of basketry which generally is produced by the women.

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[113]

Beer which is brewed in every household seldom figures in business transactions and then only between friends, in exchange for the care of cows and for rented fields.

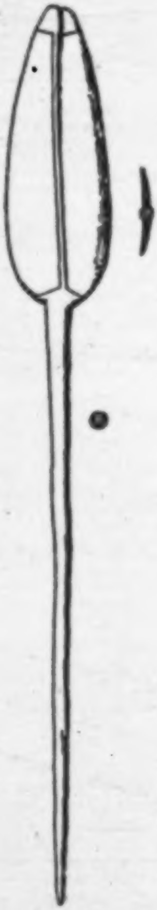

Fig. 41. Oar from Mulera. (1/12 actual size. III E 13731. 181 centimeters long.)

Potters and woodworkers are craftsmen who produce for the market, whereas metalworkers are wage earners who work on order. Wiredrawers [149], as well as the producers of barkcloth, reputedly work at the home of their employers.

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1. Cf. the monograph "Gewerbe in Ruanda [Industry in Ruanda]," "Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1904, pp. 329-372.

273 Preparation of Beer. The production of beer plays an important part in the economic life of Ruanda. In fact, most of the bananas are planted solely for this purpose. Everybody drinks. [556] Indeed, everyone who cares about his reputation must get drunk occasionally in order to parade his wealth. However, only the very wealthy can afford beer drinking on a large scale, which is the reason that the consumption of beer carries with it the notion of a privileged social position.

I had no opportunity to hear about cases of delirium tremens, but the chiefs always go to bed drunk and are never up and about before 10 o'clock in the morning.

The Banyaruanda call beer poetically a blessing of God (Imana). Without beer a person can neither be born nor buried. Without beer a man does not get a wife, and without beer he cannot be consecrated to the spirits.

Drinking bouts sometimes last a long time and are not confined to the evening hours. Repeatedly during morning trips I passed noisy settlements where the perservering were still at the glorious task.

273 674 The consequences of over-indulgence in beer are of very great social significance in Mulera. They cause murder which in turn results in blood revenge. One constantly hears of murder, and the people are very proud of it. Even those whom a man kills while drunk are counted among his slain enemies and are symbolized by cone-shaped iron pendants worn on the back of his headband (see Fig. 62).

At the time of my visit, a Batwa colony of potters in Kabgaye broke up because two drunken men killed a third man and thereupon had to flee with all their relatives to escape vengeance.

273 Not only the men, but also the women of the well-to-do, especially the Batutsi, are said to devote themselves not infrequently to drink. Since their physical beauty is combined with a rather brutal disposition, one often hears of servants of a chief's wife who were soundly thrashed by their intoxicated mistress.

In Ruanda there are several entirely different kinds of beer. Banana beer is commonly called nzoga; millet beer, marwa.

273 The various kinds have the following names.

1. Nzoga, ordinary banana beer.
2. Marwa ya massaka, millet beer.
3. Marwa ya buro, eleusine beer.
4. Rwagwa, banana beer fermented with millet malt. [150]
5. Nkangaza, banana beer fermented with honey.
6. Uruki, boiled, fermented honey water.

Nzoga is prepared with green bananas which are left to ripen in the hut, above the hearth or in special pits. If they are placed in a pit, a fire is kindled beside it and the heat conducted into the pit by the skillful manipulation of a lid. After four or five days the bananas are quite yellow. They are then peeled and thrown into a wooden trough. Here they are mashed to a thin paste (see detailed description of this process in the explanation of Plate 15, Vol. III, p. 11). This is how the sweet type of nzoga, called ndamu is prepared. Millet malt or honey is added to obtain a more pungent brew. In Buganza and Bgisha the bananas are said to be mashed in cold, unboiled water.

In order to get the nzoga to ferment, it is covered with straw and placed in a pit warmed by a fire, or it is kept inside the hut near the hearth, or it may be wrapped in banana leaves and kept in a corner.

To prepare millet beer, the grain is mixed with ashes, wrapped in grass, put in a basket which is dipped in water for a certain length of time, and then set aside until the grain germinates. After the grain has sprouted sufficiently to become malt, it is dried in the sun. The dried malt is ground into flour and is then ready for use. The flour is dissolved in boiling water, and, after cooling, it can quickly be brought to a state of fermentation by the addition of banana beer. If no banana beer is available, the thin flour porridge is heated and cooled several times. To prepare the ferment, a quantity of flour is dissolved in cooled water and set aside. After five or six days the ferment is ready and is added to the beer, and in two or three days the marwa is ready to be drunk. Unfermented marwa is called nsururu.

273 Aged banana beer is more potent than millet beer.

In Ruanda and Bgisha beer is drunk through a tube (*muheha*). These tubes are kept in cases resembling quivers, but they are considerably smaller.

Preparation of Tobacco. In connection with beer we must 276 mention the other luxury, tobacco, even though the latter undergoes no treatment except drying. Dried tobacco is an important product of Bugoye where highly prized kinds of tobacco flourish and where it is very carefully tended.

[151] Tobacco is smoked in clay pipes (*inkono yi tabi*), but it is said that in Nduga old women also partake of it in a liquid state. An infusion is prepared, and this is snuffed up the nose. To prevent its running out, they clamp a split twig on the nose and in this way plug it.

This method of enjoying tobacco is also said to be familiar to the people southwest of Lake Victoria, where it is called *kirangi*. Since they are obliged to hold their noses very high in order to keep the liquid from running out, Europeans who carry themselves very erect are given the nickname Kirangi.

Hashish is unknown in Ruanda, as well as in the rest of the interlacustrine area with the exception of Buganda. The hashish smokers of Bukoba were chiefly members of the local Baganda colony.

285 *Plaiting*. In Ruanda the technique of plaiting by no means attains the level of the work in Kiziba, although it does not differ from the latter in principle. The Ruanda products, however, are less skillfully executed.

Since this subject has been discussed in detail (1) I shall speak only briefly of the types of weaving.

In mat weaving which poses the simplest problems (pattern and weave are executed on a flat surface), the results are superb,

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1. Kandt, R., "Gewerbe in Ruanda," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1904, pp. 349-359.

and mats are among the most richly decorated objects.

There are four different types.

The stiff shield mats, which are stuffed between the supporting beams of the roof and used for interior partitions, are of two types. The first type consists of interwoven bamboo strips that cross at right angles. Variations arise, depending on whether the horizontal strips are separated from successive or alternate vertical strips. In the other type, a second layer is tied to the vertical strips. The strips of this layer can intersect the vertical strips at various angles, which diversifies the ornamentation.

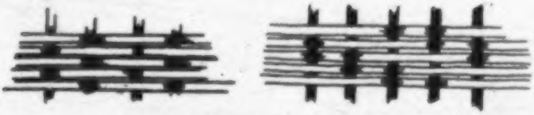

Fig. 42. Weaving Pattern of Shield Mats, Ruanda.

The stick mats consist of stiff sticks laid parallel to each other and fastened together. In Toro the mat used to serve cooked eleusine is held together by four narrow rows of fastening, while the stick mat of Ruanda has very narrow rows of fastening only along the edges. The [152] inner part between the fastenings usually has a pattern of plaited fibers, except for a narrow border which is left plain on both sides. These mats are used as curtains, which may be rolled up, in front of the bed. The ordinary reed mats are made like the mats just described, except that bunches of reed and papyrus are used instead of stiff sticks. The bundles are held together with longitudinal fastenings. In some places the bundles of reed are bound with black banana leaf sheaths, producing simple ornamentation.

The same types of plaiting are used for baskets. The weaving pattern of Type I (see Fig. 42) is used for larger baskets employed in the household for storing and carrying food supplies, for the shields on which millet is winnowed and on which flour is caught as it falls from the millstone, for beehives, for the

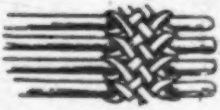

Fig. 43. Weaving Pattern of Stick Mats, Ruanda.

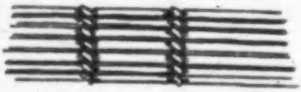

Fig. 44. Weaving Pattern of Reed Mats, Ruanda.

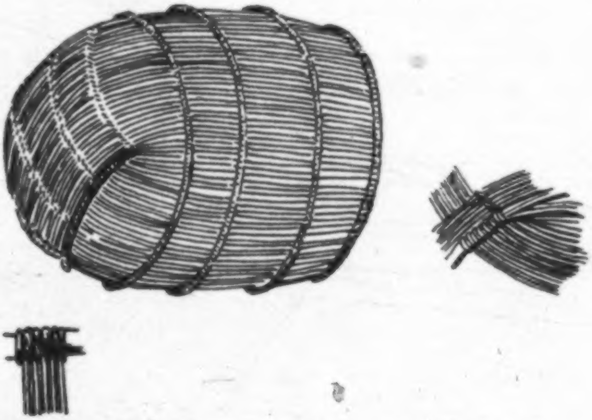

Fig. 45. Basket of Woven Sticks, Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E 13683. Height: 33 centimeters.)

[143]

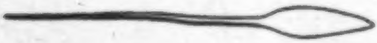

Fig. 46. Needle Used in Basketry. (1/3 actual size, 18 1/2 centimeters long.)

285 wrapper around beer jugs, for some of the woven quivers, and for mats to place under dishes. I remember having seen the pattern of Type II, in which the vertical strips are held together on the outside by a spiral, only on quivers (see Fig. 153).

Baskets used for traveling, in which toilet articles and small items are kept, are made of two stick mats [153] placed together vertically, bent to form a cylinder, and fastened together with several (usually four) horizontally attached hoops (see Fig. 45).

The sewn baskets are made from slender bundles of fine straw which are coiled and bound with bast. The bast binding is drawn through the previously bound coil of straw and sewn in this manner. The attachment of one coil to another makes the basket. The hole for the thread drawn through the coils is made with an iron needle (*mhindu*) which is also used to remove sand fleas. The needle has a flat head which is used to smooth out the bound bundle and make it more pliable. The patterns on the baskets are made with black banana leaf sheaths tied around certain parts of the coils.

The finest plaiting of this type is found in Ruanda on the covers of milk containers. Nevertheless, they cannot be compared with those of Kiziba and Kyanja. The small storage baskets (*chibo*) represent somewhat coarser work.

As may be seen from the above description, household equipment is mostly plaited objects, and their production takes up a large share of the women's time in every household. The best work is done by the Batutsi women who regard it as our women do their needlework.

323 *Pottery*. Objects of pottery stand second in the inventory of household furnishings. Pottery is produced by professional artisans who work exclusively for the market. In Ruanda most of the potters are Batwa men, but there are also Bahutu men and women who work as potters. In Kissaka I saw only women working at the trade.

Pots are not made on a wheel. However, traces of this tool are evident in the sherds which are used to shape the pot.

The clay which has been mixed with water is dampened slightly by the worker. She takes a lump of this and by hand shapes a cylindrical roll, 30 centimeters long and two to three centimeters thick. This roll is wound spirally like the straw coils used in

323 making baskets, thus forming the lower part of the pot. The rolls of clay are pressed together inside and out, and when the lower part of the pot is formed, additional spirals are added and pressed together. The procedure is continued to the upper edge of the pot or the neck of the jug, the spiral rolls still being recognizable. When it is finished thus far, [154] the pot is dipped in water and smoothed out with a piece of gourd until the rolls disappear. The upper edges are worked over with special care. They are carefully smoothed with a wet leaf (Acanthus arboreus) while the pot is rotated on the sherd. The ornamentation is also added while the pot is rotated, though much more slowly. A cylinder of plaited grass is rolled against the sides of the pot to make the primitive [531] decorations. Geometrical designs are also applied.

The pots made in this way are allowed to dry for a few days and are then fired. It is said that they are fired in the pits used to warm the unripe, unfermented beer. Pots are also fired in the open where they are stacked in pyramids, packed with firewood and grass on the sides and banana stalks on top, and thus fired. The high moisture content of the banana stalks slows the burning of the wood and prolongs the entire process, which should help to keep the pots from cracking. Nevertheless, there is always a considerable residue of useless pots.

To increase the quality of the goods, it is said that crushed sherds are added to the clay.

Potters are found on every hill. In Kissaka where there are no markets, they work only to supply the needs of the immediate vicinity.

[832] A secondary branch of pottery is the manufacture of pipes and "little love pots," tiny vessels in which the women carry their amulets which are said to guarantee them the love of their husbands. These objects are made of kneaded clay and hollowed out with special small spatulas. These two classes of objects, if [531] they are decorated at all, primarily have only linear geometrical ornamentation.

322 463 Wood Carving. Woodwork in Ruanda is done by highly specialized craftsmen. Most of them carve jugs or other vessels. They are called babazi in the vicinity of Mount Ndisa where there are great numbers of them. The persons who make bows and arrows and also live near there are called batanazi. Dr. Kandt (1), who in the monograph cited above discusses the wood industry of Ruanda in great detail, says with regard to the various types of workers: "Thus, the arrow makers also make bows, other workers make salt troughs for animals and drums, still others specialize in grain mortars, chairs, and beehives. There are also specialists engaged in making dishes, spoons for stirring, ladles, and clubs. Specialists in only one object make containers for milk, quivers, and ornamental boxes for pombe [beer] tubes. Workers who make milk vessels sometimes also make troughs for pombe. (2)

[412]

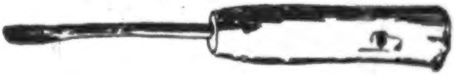

Fig. 47. Percussion Drill from Ruanda. (1/4 actual size. III E 9884. 34 centimeters long.)

322 [155] In spite of this extensive specialization, the products by and large are very crude and much poorer than the objects made around Lake Victoria. The smaller containers, especially the dishes for butter, are the most carefully and elegantly carved.

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1. Kandt, R., "Gewerbe in Ruanda," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1904, pp. 335-348.

2. Ibid., p. 342.

322 412 The tools used for this work are the ax (Figs. 29, 30), the bush knife (Fig. 31), the percussion drill, the hollow hatchet in various sizes with diagonal cutting edges, and the rasp for scraping the interior and surface of objects.

325 316 439 Metal Industry. The two types of metalwork in Ruanda are the ordinary blacksmith's art and wire drawing. Iron mining is of no importance; the inhabitants are dependent almost entirely on imported metal. Iron is imported from Busindja and from the Congo state in the form of hoes. I saw a few abandoned mines on Mount Ndisa, and there is some iron in Kissaka. Dr. Kandt (1) even reports a blast furnace with 16 bellows. Bgisha is said to be considerably richer in iron, but it seems to me that it chiefly mediates the importation of Congo iron.

326 The smiths form a sort of guild in Nduga. They are all Bahutu, but they belong to different clans even though their occupation is generally hereditary.

Smiths are very much feared throughout the country, although one cannot deny that their trade is regarded with a certain scorn. Among the Bahutu the smiths enjoy their wealth because of an undeniable influence. Women, for example, seem to regard smiths as great cavaliers and men of the world who always drink beer to excess. In general, however, they are regarded as restless spirits and eternal rebels, nor are they especially praised for their honesty. In view of this, they are carefully watched at their work when, as is usually the case, they are furnished with raw materials by the customers. It is said that they filch iron whenever they can and have a very bad reputation in this respect.

[847] Aside from their regular trade, the smiths also practice gynecology, and they are noted for their skill in performing abortions. They also play a prominent part in the cult. The head of the royal smiths is said to have a high position and to play an important role in court ceremonies.

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 360.

325 [156] A smith's tools consist of bellows, iron hammers, and a stone anvil, besides lesser tools such as an earthen pot for water, a brush to sprinkle the coals when the surface begins to glow, and pieces of wood to clamp together the red-hot iron.

In Kissaka the bellows (see Plate 12, Vol. III) is a clay vessel, the bottom of which is elongated to form a rather long horizontal pipe. The upper opening of the pot is covered with a goat skin in such a way that a stick at the center can either raise it or lower it in the pot. The resulting change in size of the area covered causes a shifting current of air in the horizontal pipe leading out of the bottom. Two bellows form one unit operated by one man and adequate for ordinary forging work. Dr. Kandt (1) shows an illustration of a double wooden bellows which I repeatedly saw only in north Ruanda and among the Bakondjo [Konjo]. A clay funnel sunk into the hearth is laid in front of the openings of the two bellows. Puffs of air produced by rapidly pressing down the skin-membrane are directed into the funnel alternately from the two openings. According to the pressure thus produced,the draft reaches the center of the hearth by way of the funnel, whereas the air sucked into the bellows comes through the space between the funnel and the bellows. In this manner primitive bellows without valves direct air through a funnel to the center of the hearth.

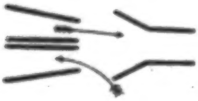

Fig. 48. Diagram of Air Circulation between Bellows and Funnel.

[H12] The hammers, including the handle, are made from one piece of iron. The handle is round in cross section, whereas the hammer has four ribs for pounding, producing an X-shape in cross section.

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1. Kandt, R., "Gewerbe in Ruanda," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1904, p. 362.

325 The anvil is a flat stone. The smiths sit on similarly shaped stones beside the anvil while they work.

They do not use tongs. The red-hot iron is set into banana stalks which have a high moisture content, and thus the iron can be held in the hand while being forged. If the object being forged happens to have a point, the latter is driven into a piece of wood, and with this improvised handle it can be held quite comfortably.

To cut off a piece of iron, they bend it in both directions until it breaks and falls apart. The edges and the rough surfaces of the anvil are also used in forging. For example, if the iron is to be cut in two at a certain point, that portion is hammered thin, repeatedly [157] bent in both directions, and finally laid over a hollow portion of the anvil and separated with a few light blows.

[306] The rather highly developed jewelry industry requires a considerable production of very thin iron and copper wire. This is wound around bracelets and anklets.

The piece of metal is first forged into a thick, uneven piece of wire, and later this is drawn out to the desired thinness.

The actual wire drawing is done without heat. Forged wire is repeatedly drawn through a cone-shaped hole in an iron bolt. The narrower outlet of the bolt is gradually made smaller as the soft metal is hammered. As the wire is pulled through, the edges of the bolt yield more and more, so that the wire is thicker at the end than at the beginning. To counteract this, the wire is alternately pulled through the bolt in the reverse direction.

After the opening of the bolt has been narrowed by hammering, first of all the uneven edges must be smoothed. For this purpose a well-sharpened needle set into a wooden handle is used. The needle is put into the opening of the bolt from both sides and twisted around. Then the end of the wire is filed so that it can be threaded into the bolt. Thereupon the protruding end of the wire is clamped down with a special device. The wire is drawn without the use of pincers.

The clamp used in place of pincers consists of a V-shaped piece of iron. The protruding bit of wire is placed between the two branches of this V-shaped piece and clamped by means of an iron ring set on the V. The clamp must then be drawn slightly away from the bolt. After this, while the wire is still sufficiently

325 thick and strong, the bolt is supported against a forked tree trunk set in the ground. This is why the outer edges of the bolt are cut to shape at both ends. This preparation prevents slipping because these parts can fit more exactly in the notches on the wooden fork.

The clamp is grasped, for the sake of comfort, with a loop made of banana leaf sheaths, and it is drawn the length of a meter. Afterwards a loop is wound around the wire itself. This loop is knotted in such a way that in pulling back with the hand closed it grasps the wire and pulls it, but at the same time it slides easily in the direction of the bolt. Drawing the wire close to the bolt prevents it from breaking. In the case of fine, weak, thin wire, the clamp is supported against the wooden fork and the bolt drawn along the wire by hand. If any section of the wire offers resistance, the wire is slid back and forth.

[287]
[412]

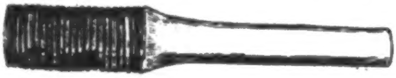

Fig. 49. Barkcloth Beater, Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E 9964.

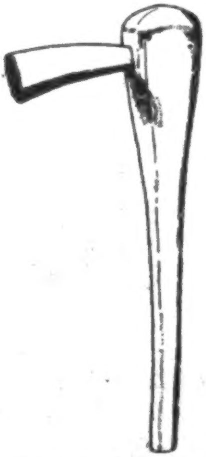

Fig. 50. Barkcloth Beater, Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III 13105. 34.5 centimeters long.)

[158] Thick wire is heated for drawing; but the temperature is very low since the main operations, such as filing the point and clamping, are done by hand. Thick wire is rubbed with stones as it is being drawn; the worker takes a handful of stones and repeatedly rubs them along the wire. This is reputedly done to impede the movement of the wire and thus draw it out more. Thin wire is smeared with fat to keep it from getting stuck, which might cause it to break. The finished wire is rolled into large coils.

000 The finished wire is rolled into large coils.

287 [178] *Preparation of Barkcloth*. The making of barkcloth (*mpuzu*) seems to be falling off in Ruanda. For example, I had only one occasion in Ruasa to see a piece of barkcloth, and this was made into a bag. Because of the large number of barkcloth beaters which were offered me for sale in Ruasa, I am forced to conclude that this branch of native industry is dying out, at least in Mulera.

In Nduga where the population is considerably poorer, one sees a great deal of barkcloth, but since it is worn in the same manner as expensive clothing made of skins, one might assume that in this locality it is at present only a substitute for skins. There are, however, reasons for assuming that the original clothing was made of barkcloth. In Mulera in the area of the Ruasa Mission it was observed that with the increase of wealth barkcloth was replaced by clothing of skins.

The bark of a species of fig is soaked in water, laid on a tree trunk, and beaten out thin with a hammer. The hammers
[413] (*imango*) have two shapes. One looks like a cylinder with circular grooves on the end used for beating, and it has a tapered handle. The other kind is a conical beater which, as in the case of the axes and hoes, is fastened to a handle. Here, too, the beating surface is grooved but in crisscross fashion.

In Ruanda the barkcloth is very crude and cannot be compared to that of Kiziba.

281 [159] *Dressing Skins*. Preparing a cow hide for an article of clothing is a laborious task. The skin must be made soft and pliable; otherwise it is useless.

The skin stripped off the animal is first of all dried in the sun and then soaked in water. When it has become soft, it is hung up to allow the water to drip off. It is then stretched on the ground with the fur side downward, held with small wooden pegs which are stuck through the edge of the skin and, after the skin is stretched, are driven into the ground with a stone. Then the skin is cleaned with a scraper (*mbaro*). This process is known as *kuhara*. The first layer that is removed is called *imishishwa*; the second, *imiharamuro*; the third, *inkuru*. After that the pierced edge is

281 cut off, the skin is rubbed with cow dung and it is put aside for two or three days. Later it is combed and smoothed out with minyonza. This process is known as kubiutsa inshundo zinganda. The skin is then rubbed thoroughly with butter and sprinkled with red earth which has been soaked in water (kitaka ch'inkanda). The particles remaining after this has dried are mixed with butter. When the skin has been prepared thus far, patterns are sewn on it with an iron needle. Cattle tendons are used as thread. This work is called kukana nganda. Originally the needle had no eye; it was a sort of awl of the type which is also used to remove sand fleas (mafunza). At

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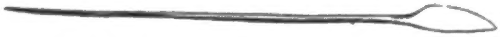

Fig. 51. Awl from Mulera. (1/3 actual size. III E 13732. 24 1/2 centimeters long.)

its opposite end it has a knife to cut the skins. Finally, the skin must be perfumed. For this purpose the sweet-scented wood called imibavu ihumura is used. This wood is burned in a sherd (luggio) on red-hot coals. Above the fire a wide-meshed plaited basket (lutete) is placed upside down, like a dome. The skin is stretched over the basket and thus exposed to the smoke. This completes the dressing. The skins of goats and sheep are dressed with less care but along the same lines.

463 Trade. The division of labor in Ruanda is on a comparatively high level. The socio-political situation itself produces a diversity of occupations among the subjugated Bahutu and the ruling Batutsi, but we must not forget that agriculture among the Bahutu and cattle raising among the Batutsi are basically independent and have little relation to each other economically.

[160] The division of labor is not sufficiently advanced in Ruanda to give rise to any great economic independence, with the exception of the king who has large holdings in land and cattle. Most articles are made for home consumption.

435 Exchange of goods has little importance in itself, and a financial system which reveals the relationship of individual goods to each other has not been developed.

With the exception of foodstuffs, objects of trade are iron hoes, tobacco, cotton cloth, skins, salt, brass and copper wire, glass beads, various housewares, weapons, and, with certain restrictions, women and cattle.

436 Of these goods, especially iron hoes, beads, and cattle have become the standards of value. Individual standards, however, are applied according to the goods appraised, and there is as yet no fixed relationship of the different units of value to each other.

The hoe is the general unit of value for larger objects. Thus, they speak of a good goat for two to four hoes, or of the rental for cultivating a field for two seasons as equivalent to one hoe, etc.

At the time of my visit gilded glass beads the size of a pea were used as a small unit of value. These substitute for the cowrie shells common around Lake Victoria and are about equal to them in value. Other kinds of beads were also accepted in payment. The small red sam-sam, so popular in Urundi, were not accepted in Ruanda. Somewhat larger blue beads and white ones of the same diameter but twice as long come from Kisenyi. They are considerably lower in value (about one half) than the gilded pea-sized beads. In Kissaka and Nduga I was able to carry out transactions using small white beads, two to three millimeters in diameter. On the other hand, the round bluish-green beads eight millimeters in diameter were not accepted anywhere. Formerly they were said to have been highly prized throughout the country.

The gilded, pea-sized beads, like the cowrie shells which have about the same value, are strung, 50 to 100 on a string and serve as units for counting. The long strings are called runigi rulerule, "large necklace"; the small ones, runigi rugwisi, "small necklace."

Pieces of brass or copper wire are sometimes also used as measurements of value. The unit of measure for copper wire is ntamba, the maximum distance between the tips of the first and third fingers.

436 With the advent of trade in skins a new unit of value has come into the country. This is the rupee (1/15 of an English pound) which here takes the form of white cotton material (Amerikani) two fathoms in length, called doti by the traders along the coast. [161] A length of this material can be divided only into two pieces of one fathom (upande) each. The doti is the equivalent of about 1,000 to 1,200 gilded, pea-sized glass beads.

When the Batutsi buy women, they use cows and beer jugs as units of value. The Bahutu of south Ruands use iron hoes as units of value (spade money), whereas the Bahutu of the north, especially those from Mulera, measure the value of women in cows.

435 Prices. Prices differ greatly throughout the country and are subject to great fluctuations. The value of European goods is rapidly depreciating. In order to give an idea of the relative value of individual objects, I shall list a few prices as expressed in equivalent units:

Small hut	one large goat.
Large jug of beer	one hoe.
Sword (ngota)	one small hoe.
Pot for water or for cooking	1/8 to 1/15 of a hoe.
Hoe	150 to 250 gilded glass beads in the year 1907. Great fluctuation in price according to the fashion.
Mat	1/3 to 1/4 of a hoe.
Day's wage of a man	1/5 of a hoe.
Tobacco leaf	1/250 of a hoe.
One fathom of material (upande Amerikani)	two hoes.
A load of tobacco, 400 to 600 leaves	one upande.

Tobacco from Bugoye and Bushiru is sold in packages of 50 leaves. About ten packages comprise a load. Ordinary kinds of tobacco such as are grown everywhere have no commercial significance.

435

Elephant's tusk	up to 100 goats.
Goat	two to four hoes.
Sheep	two to three hoes.
Young bull	eight to eleven hoes.
Calf	two to five hoes.
Young cow	15 to 20 goats or two bulls: one the same size as the cow, the other somewhat larger.

439 Trade. In considering trade in Ruanda we must make a sharp distinction between trade in hides and other forms of trading.

In the cattle-rich lands of the African interior the trade in hides takes on the character of pure export, indeed of piracy. Imported [162] European and Indian cotton goods, glass beads, brass and copper wire, and other consumer goods are paid for in hides.

The government has forbidden traders to cross the borders of Ruanda and Urundi because it was afraid that livestock might be decimated due to the relatively high prices of skins. Smugglers [687] who were caught had to forfeit their wares and, temporarily, their freedom, but despite the risk, native traders, lured by the great profits, came from Karagwe to Kissaka to buy skins. These they sold to Indian shopkeepers in Kafuro.

South of Lake Mohasi I met a trading caravan of ten men. They drove a few cows and goats, and on their heads they carried rolls of hides. They carried a passport from Bukoba to Kafuro and continued their journey at their own risk. They talked a great deal about the high prices they paid for the livestock, in order to clear themselves of any suspicion that they had stolen them. They said they had paid ten doti Amerikani for one bull and one doti for a goat.

Near the Nsasa Mission there is a Muganda trader who has been there so long that he is a permanent resident.

Smuggling must be rather extensive, since all the Batutsi were dressed in cotton. It is not probable that this material came primarily from the military and trading stations on Lake Kivu (Kisenyi and Ischangi).

439 Aside from trade in hides, there is an old, respectable foreign trade. Iron hoes are imported from the Congo state and salt from Lake Edward. These are paid for chiefly in goats. Goats are also used to pay for ivory and rubber smuggled out of the Congo.

438 Internal trade consists above all in the exchange of local products between producer and consumer. Barter is carried on in food, iron, clay products, sheep and goats, salt, etc.

The people of Issawi get their salt from Njaruguru. It is brought there from Urundi. They buy their hoes in Mukinjaga. This province does not manufacture them; they are imported from Bunyabungu. The northern provinces get their iron from Bgisha and their salt from Katana on Lake Edward where salt from Kagwe is sold in large quantities. Salt is also prepared within the country, in Mulera, and, according to Dr. Kandt (1), in a southern bay of Lake Kivu. I do not know whether Busindja salt (2) which is obtained in Kigoma west of [163] Mumurumba on the southern border of Ujungu, reaches Ruanda.

Copper is imported in small amounts from Urundi and in larger amounts from Busindja in payment for ivory. Goats are exported from Mulera, Kissaka, and Njaruguru. Sheep are exported from Mulera. Mukinjaga produces the prettiest mats. The colored mats of the Batutsi are made in Nduga. Bamboo baskets are made in Bwischascha, Bugoye, and Mulera. Ndorwa exports otter skins. The most beautiful spears and the best arrows are made at Mount Ndisa. All these goods are also traded within the country.

438
484 This trade is conducted by native middlemen who, in contrast to foreign traders (bachuruzi), are known as bagenza. They

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 513.

[113] 2. Capus, R.P., "Eine Missionsreise nach Uha and Urundi [A Missionary Journey to Uha and Urundi,]," Petermanns Mitteilungen 1898, p. 185.

438 often set out on journeys lasting several days to visit customers
484 and distant markets. They handle the trade between Mulera, Nduga, and Katana on Lake Edward, and their chief items of exchange are sheep and goats, iron, salt, and tobacco. The Bagoye handle trade between Bugoye and Bunyabungu and exchange large quantities of hoes for goats from Mulera.

123 The Bagoye are unprejudiced traders. For example, when they saw me collecting skulls there, they brought me some to buy. However, no one had the courage to touch a skull. They carried it either on a stick or wrapped in a banana leaf. It was a boy of eleven who first had the idea of demanding payment for skulls. Others followed, even adults, when they saw that the boy was well paid. In a short time they brought in over 200 skulls.

We must point out, however, that not everyone was enthusiastic about these transactions. After more careful investigation, it was discovered that all the skull collectors were people of the lower classes. They were bagaragu (1) of the others and orphans who had been taken into individual households as semi-slaves.
[626] After a few days, however, skull collecting stopped altogether, since the boys of the mission refused to eat with anyone who had collected skulls. When this news spread, I could not get any more skulls, and the last collector was thrashed.

The people were very much interested in knowing how much was paid for skulls in Europe.

567 Even today it is said that human beings are exported from Ruanda, not as voluntary emigrants and transient workers, but as slaves. I could find out little about this obscure problem. Since wives [164] are bought, it is very difficult to draw the line between a purchased slave and a purchased wife. In Kissaka the story goes that the Bassuwi come in large numbers to buy women and that they stay in Lukira. They are also said to re-sell the women in Tabora.

Dr. Kandt (1) says that there is a regular slave trade in the

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1. Clients.

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 435.

567 northwestern part of the country. "The Wahunde [Hunde] annually sell hundreds of their children as slaves to Ruanda because their country is too small for their large families, and they do not have enough food."

443 *Markets.* Markets where people gather at certain hours of the day in order to exchange their goods are common only in the north and west. They seem to be entirely absent in the east. Dr. Kandt sees Western influence in the institution. (2) To me this does not seem quite correct. In the first place, it also exists in Nduga, as I discovered for myself. Secondly, we have adequate reason to assume that Bahutu-Ruanda, before it was influenced by Batutsi, was very similar to the territories on the other side of the great African trough [Rift Valley]. It is possible that markets are a very old institution that survived only in the west and north. In the Batutsi provinces markets may have disappeared with the conquest, just as they vanished in the vicinity of the Belgian stations, especially in Uele, or, at any rate, they are hidden from the eyes of the conquerors. The latter have not infrequently confiscated market goods because no taxes were paid on them.

In Nduga I saw two markets offering iron hoes (*iguliro lyi byuma*). One was half an hour from Kwa Rutagungira in Bulamba, the other was located between Nyanza and Kabgaye on a hill three hours from the latter settlement. When I passed through, the market near Kwa Rutagungira was patronized by a great many smiths from Mount Ndisa. Below Marangara, on the Nyawarongo in Bukonya, there is a charcoal market. Charcoal is burned in the Tschingogo Forest and traded by the people of Chief Niamakwa of Bushiru for millet and old hoes.

Since olden times there has been a food market, open daily, in Nyundo on the Mission Bridge between Katebe Hill and the Ssebeya. The people gather early in the morning and leave between 11 and 12 o'clock. There is another market town in the northwestern part of Kisenyi.

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2. Kandt, R., "Gewerbe in Ruanda," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1904, p. 332.

443 In Mulera there is a market place a few hours from Ruasa. Luhanga, the representative of Nshohozamigo, tried to move the market to the neighborhood of the Ruasa Mission. He thought that he could thereby make the missionaries [165] obligated to him and, on the other hand, increase his profits. It was to be assumed that the highway over the Mission Bridge which everyone takes to Ruweruka and Bugoye would attract even more customers than the old site. However, the expectation was not fulfilled. At first people came out of curiosity, but they soon went back to the old site. This example proves that we are dealing here with old, firmly established traditions.

In the west markets occur three to four hours apart, as Dr. Kandt (1) has already pointed out.

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 294.

[493]

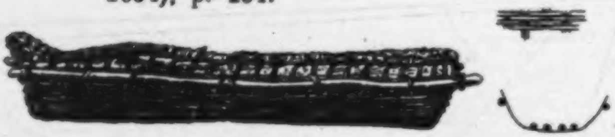

Fig. 52. Litter from Mulera. (1/12 actual size. III 13685. 128 centimeters long.)

In Nyundo the market attracted several hundred people daily between eight and ten in the morning. There were also several middlemen taking part, who collected commissions. To avoid the market tax people also carried on transactions along the roadsides near the market. We observed such small auxiliary markets at the crossroads.

487 Communication. The Munyaruanda travels on foot. When several people travel together they move in single file on the well-trodden paths which have been used for centuries. The paths avoid straight lines. They carefully circumvent every obstacle, every stone, every fallen tree trunk. Despite these minor deviations, the course of the path is definitely fixed and determined by the ferries. Nothing could be more incorrect than the assertion heard not infrequently that on a trip any path can be used as long as

487 the general direction is maintained. One must often make considerable detours in order to keep to the more frequented, convenient main arteries. This struck me particularly when, in Njakagungu on the way from Lake Mohasi to Nsasa, I crossed the road that led from Ruanda to Karagwe. The paths hug the ridges of the hills, since travel in the valleys is very difficult because of the many swamps. The constant ascent and descent from one ridge to another makes travel very troublesome.

493 The important people of the country are carried in basket litters (ngobi) on their journeys. The litter is like a woven trough. It is made [166] of bamboo sticks (migano) which run lengthwise and are fastened to each other with strips of rattan. The trough has at least three handles on each side through which are inserted two strong bamboo sticks. The bearers carry these sticks on their heads on round cushions. They move at a gentle trot. The occupant of the litter is in a half-reclining position.

484 The chiefs travel with all the comfort of home; they are, for example, accompanied by two cows (nzishwa) which are milked en route.

[492] Only Europeans ride animals.

491 Until recently bridges were entirely unknown in Ruanda. Now one has been built on land belonging to the Ruasa Mission over the rapids of the Mukungwa which were difficult to cross. Another connects the Issawi Mission with the neighboring hills. It stretches across a swamp.

501 Since ancient times river crossings have been provided with dugouts to ferry travelers. At the Akanjaru ferry near Kihinga, I had an opportunity to see a raft made of reeds and papyrus tied together. The raft was pulled from one shore to the other by means of a rope made out of plaited papyrus. The raft was three meters square and was strong enough to carry seven porters with their loads.

491 The Akanjaru which is one kilometer wide did not have an open surface of water as much as 20 meters wide on which a raft could move. It was a thick papyrus swamp through which we would have had to wade up to our hips at that time if a comfortable crossing had not been built with reeds and papyrus stalks laid next
312 to each other. Small dams are often constructed in the swamps to make a watering place for the cows. If the swamp has a considerable

312 gradient, a deeper free surface of water is formed above the dam, which serves as a watering place for cattle.

482 501 In Ruanda all goods are transported by porters. Lake Kivu is the only waterway that is used. It is navigated with large, primitive dugouts which are not sea-worthy but can carry very considerable loads. Otherwise boats are used only to ferry travelers across the rivers on main thoroughfares.

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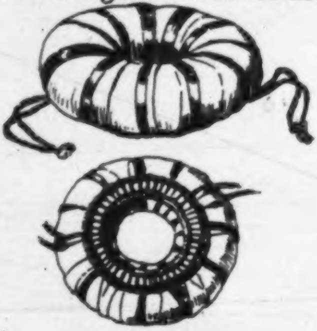

Fig. 53. Cushions for Carrying Loads, Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III 13093. 21 1/2 centimeters in diameter.)

The rivers of Ruanda, however, have navigable stretches which in the future, with the development of transportation, will undoubtedly be used. [167] Thus, for example, I am convinced that the Nyawarongo is navigable from Mount Ndisa to the confluence of the Mukungwa and even farther. On the Kissaka border, also, I confirmed the navigability of the Kagera. Likewise, the Kagera can be navigated from the mouth of the Ruvuvu to the bend of the Mpororo.

492 Beasts of burden are not as yet used in Ruanda, although the 20 to 25 donkeys in the country, used by Europeans, are very serviceable and thrive well.

The use of waterways and beasts of burden, however, takes for granted an increase in porters' wages and a development in trade which the porters now available will no longer be able to handle.

482 In contrast to the custom in the northwest Congo areas, burdens are carried on the head in Ruanda. It is only among the Bahunde in the west that we begin to see people carry burdens on their backs. It seems that the eastern boundary of this method of carrying packs entends from Lake Kivu across to the Rutshuru River and north, along the eastern boundary of the Bakondjo territory, to the east of Lake Edward.

482 In the north high, cone-shaped bamboo baskets are used to
415 carry food and charcoal. They are carried on the head on a
285 cushion. Small packages are also often made of banana leaves. These packages are generally wedged between three branches, bamboo stalks, or small bunches of millet straw. In this way they can be held with one hand. Packages are more often used in the south. There, small items and toilet articles are packed for traveling in wide, low baskets made of small sticks, with cone-shaped lids. These are simply placed on the head.

Beer and water are carried in earthen pots with plaited wrappers and covered with banana leaves.

202 In a discussion of the means of communication in Ruanda we must not forget to mention the native telegraph. Drum signals are used to a moderate extent. The king summons his warriors with drums when there is impending danger, but general information is shouted from hill to hill in a particular way, so that Nyanza is always well informed about what goes on in the country. There is news [168] of every European traveler of every cattle theft at the border, and of every sign of unrest throughout the country. The news travels quickly from hill to hill until it reaches the capital. The news service is so good that one could assume there are special persons who are obliged to carry out their duties of signaling promptly.

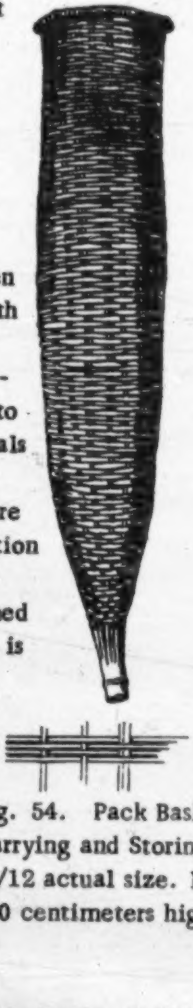

Fig. 54. Pack Basket for Carrying and Storing Food. (1/12 actual size. III E 13688. 140 centimeters high.)

487 Arteries of Communication. In conclusion we shall list briefly
438 the chief traffic and trade routes of Ruanda.

1. The path from Bukoba, via Kafuro, Kissaka, and Bugessera, to Nduga is the route along which hides are transported from Ruanda

437 438 to the Uganda railway. It seems that most of the cotton cloth and beads that one sees in Ruanda are also brought this way. Trade along this route is carried on chiefly by Indians from Kafuro, assisted by people of Kahigi. I reached this route on my trip from Nyanza by Lake Mohasi to Nsasa in Njakagungu, a day's journey south of the lake. On the way I met a trading caravan that exchanged cattle for its ten loads of cheap cotton material. This new traffic artery was formed to make a connection with the Uganda Railway.

[415 285]

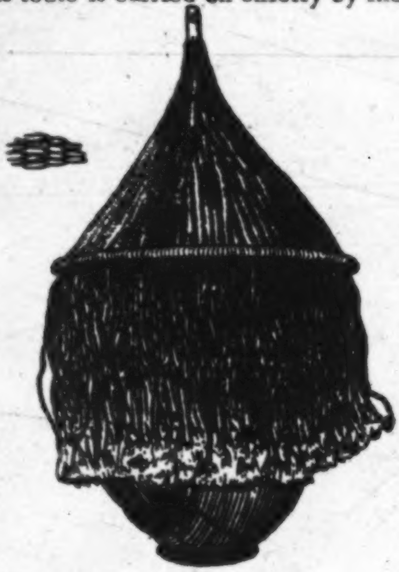

Fig. 55. Traveling Basket from Ruanda. (1/8 actual size. III E 6986. 84 centimeters high.)

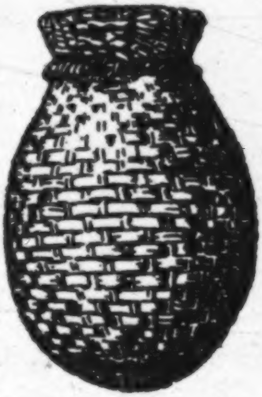

Fig. 56. Pot with Woven Wrapper, Mulera. (1/8 actual size. III 13746. 50 centimeters high.)

2. The above route has cut off the old way from Tabora, via Ussuwi and Kissaka, to Nduga and robbed it of its former importance. [567] It is said that now this route has a branch along which the Bassuwi trade in women flourishes. It was along this route that Count Von Götzen entered the country, the first European to do so.

[169] 3. The route from Nduga via Mukinjaga to Bunyabungu is the export route for sheep and goats which are exchanged for iron. Along this route are traded the Mukinjaga mats, well-known throughout Ruanda.

487 4. The route from Nduga, via Mulera and Ufumbiro, to
438 Katana is the salt route, along which salt is transported south and sheep and goats north. From Lukara's settlement on the Muhawura, traders without packs reach Katana in four days and return, laden with salt, in six days.

5. A branch of the latter route runs from Nduga to Bugoye,
439 Kishari, and Lake Edward, and this is the way salt is imported from Lake Edward and iron from the Congo state.

6. Another route, important for iron hoes, is that running from Kishari to Bugoye, Mulera, and Ruweruka, from which the route between Bugoye and Kissaka branches off. The bridge of the Ruasa Mission is a very convenient spot from which to observe traffic with Ruweruka.

7. The Ruzizi route connecting Kisenyi and Ischangi with Tanganyika (Usumbura) is of greatest importance for contraband goods from the Congo state. In this roundabout way ivory and rubber reach Tabora and the railway.

[170]

Chapter 8

Clothing, Ornaments, and Weapons

171 Clothing. In the clothing, ornaments, and weapons of
291 Ruanda a mixture of the style peculiar to the Forest Bantu and
301 characteristic elements from the eastern steppes is evident. Thus,
411 we find both barkcloth and skins used for clothing, anklets made of grass along with wire spirals, and East African round bows with strings made of tendons beside composite bows with strings of bamboo strips. The East African elements are predominant and more apparent, the western elements more or less in the background. The material culture faithfully reflects historical events, and this can be substantiated with anthropological evidence.

291 In view of this, we can easily understand why skins are of prime importance in the clothing of the Banyaruanda. Barkcloth which they are unable to prepare as well as in Kiziba or in Buganda, for example, is of secondary importance. In his ceremonial

291 dress, the Mututsi does not use barkcloth. This leads us to associate barkcloth with the [171] Bahutu substratum. An argument in favor of this view may also be seen in the fact that barkcloth technique reaches its height in Buganda, but there the influence of the herdsmen aristocracy is at a minimum.

292 The festive garb of the Batutsi consists of a narrow piece of cowhide (mukane) with a fringe of about 20 strips (ndengera) of cowhide or, as in the case of the fringe on tobacco pouches, of otter skin. The cutting of these strips is called kutera indengera. The hide is light gray, worn with the fur side out, and fastened at the loins by being turned down at the edge.

291 The mukane must not be confused with the nshavure. The latter is an ordinary narrow skin without a fringe, which is worn by

[292]

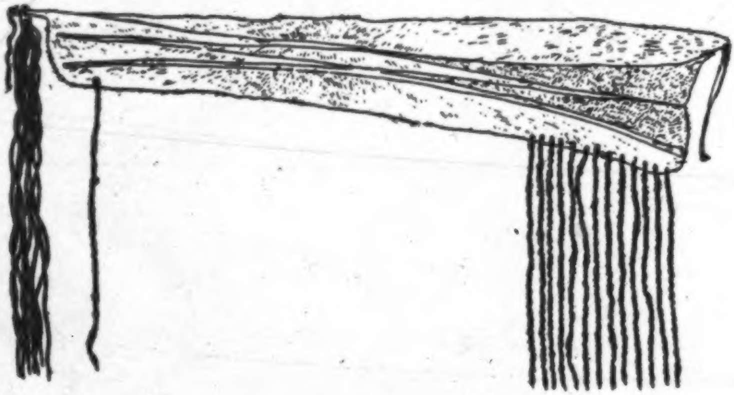

Fig. 57. Festive Garb of Batutsi in Ruanda. (1/12 actual size. III 10911. 125 centimeters wide.)

children, young girls, and even adult herdsmen when they go out to their animals early in the morning.

Children and unmarried girls also wear an apron (nduyongo) made of braided banana fibers, resembling the grass clothing of the Baziba [Haya].

The everyday dress of the Batutsi is made of cotton cloth. It consists of two pieces of material, each two yards long and one yard wide. One piece is wrapped around the loins (kukenyara), the other is thrown over the shoulder (kuitera). For the shoulder pieces red prints are popular, but the colors are not gawdy. The cotton materials, like the skins, are smeared with butter. 291

The Bahutu for the most part wear barkcloth a great deal and, near the missions, cotton clothing also. Cloth and skins are worn in the same manner as the cotton material of the Batutsi.

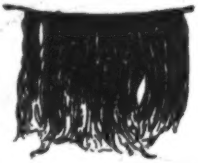

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Fig. 58. Braided Apron for Young Women and Children, Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III 9923. 33 centimeters wide.)

The Bahunde, who are physically and linguistically closely related to the Bahutu, draw a piece of barkcloth between their legs, like their western neighbors of the Congo Basin, instead of wrapping it around their hips, as the Banyaruanda do with the kukenyara. We may presume that the West African method of drawing it between the legs is the original custom, even among the Bahutu. This is confirmed by the fact that the Banyaruanda also wear waist bands, often decorated with glass beads, under their cotton clothing. At one time these probably served to fasten the barkcloth drawn between the legs. Wrapping the clothing around the hips makes these bands superfluous. The wrapped lengths of material seem to be the result of [172] a later East African influence, which could also have come from the Batutsi. The people cling to this principle of dress in their old costumes which they now wear only for rituals and festive occasions.

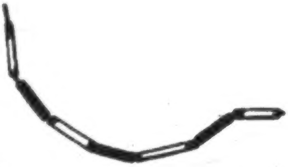

Fig. 59. Waistband of Strung Pieces of Porcupine Quills, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E 3954. 161 centimeters long.)

Married women wrap a soft piece of cowhide (inkanda) around their hips. It reaches to their ankles and is held and fastened with a 291

291 cord or thong. The free end of this thong is usually cut into several strands and strung with beads of glass or iron (ngimbi). The braided bast cord is called indjishi.

Dressed cowhide has a relatively high value and is worn for several years. When torn, it is mended and carefully sewn together. Not all women, however, can obtain this costly, though serviceable article of clothing and must wear goat skins and barkcloth (mpuzu), as do the grown girls. Near the missions where work is paid in cloth, they also wear cotton materials in place of cowhides.

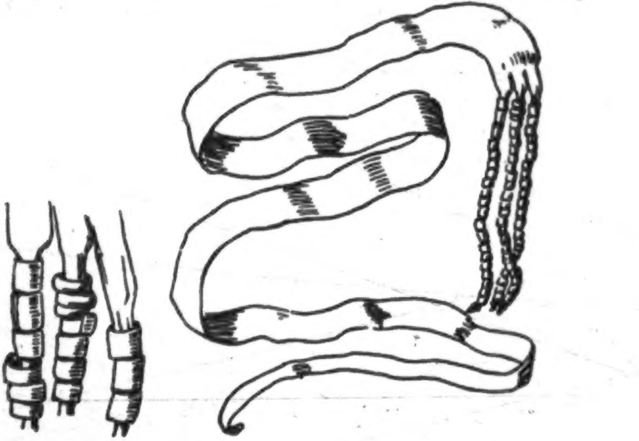

Fig. 60. Woman's Belt from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13701. 145 centimeters long.)

To complete a woman's costume, a goat skin is thrown over the shoulders. However, when this article is omitted, the costume is not regarded as incomplete.

[854] Small children are always wrapped in sheepskin and carried on the back. The skin is tied together above and below the mother's breasts with two strips of barkcloth or two pieces of bark from a banana tree. These strips are tied to the leg parts of the skin.

[515] [173] Women who are carrying children usually also carry leaves in their left hand. The leaves are carefully laid together and used to wipe their backs and the child if necessary.

Batwa wear the same clothing as the Bahutu, except that cotton material is very rare among them. Dr. Kandt, however, observed differences in women's clothing. He says (1) about the Batwa women: "They wore aprons of slashed banana leaves to cover their genitals. As ornaments they wore on their withered bodies only a few chains tightly strung with bluish opalescent glass discs made of snail shells." On the Muhawura and in Kabgaye I had an opportunity to see and to measure Batwa women. They wore the ordinary clothing of Ruanda and the common type of ornaments. I saw Batwa women from Ngunzu's village only in the primeval forest as they took flight, alarmed by our caravan.

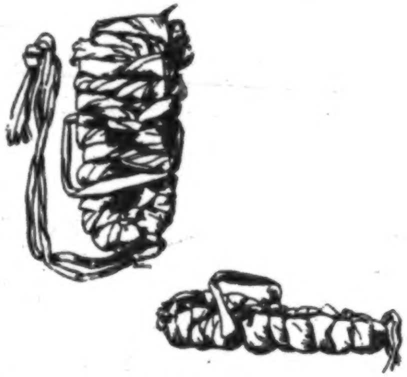

Fig. 61. Sandals from Bgisha. (1/6 actual size. III 10947. 25 centimeters long.)

Only in the patterns of European printed materials and the different kinds of glass beads can one see a predominant fashion in Ruanda. In the northwest Belgian materials were specially favored, but they were actually of better quality than those offered on the east coast.

Clothing worn temporarily during the rains consists of banana leaves tied around the hips. Fishermen wading in water wear the

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1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 302.

291 same type of clothing.

293 The Munyaruanda is familiar with the native umbrella. In its simplest form the improvised umbrella consists of a large banana leaf worn on the head. An actual umbrella is made of the bark of a banana tree stretched on a bowl-shaped frame. It is worn on the head and supported by the back (cf. Vol. III, Plate 23).

291 I saw sandals only near the lava plain in Rulenge (Bgisha). They are made of banana leaves and, like the shoes used in Europe for mountain climbing, have a sole made of flat braid. They wear out very easily on the rough earth, so that on a journey several pairs must be taken along. [174] The natives wear them only when the footing is positively dangerous, otherwise they go barefoot wherever possible. Dr. Kandt (1) mentions the use of sandals among the Batundwe who, it seems, are a northern branch of the Bahunde and live near the southern shore of Lake Albert.

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301
554 Ornaments. In Ruanda only the king wears a head covering; he dons a cap on festive occasions. This cap is cylindrical, 20 centimeters high, and embroidered with beads. From it hang strings of beads ending in little embroidered rods. The strings are of two different lengths, so that there are two rows of little rods, one above the other, which form a beaded veil. There are no strings at the back or over the nose, but here there is an embroidered band hanging down below the root of the nose. On this band are three small embroidered rods that rest on the nose and extend to the mouth. A colobus [monkey] skin is fastened to the beaded band. This adjunct deserves special attention, since the priest of Wamara in Nkole adorns his head with a colobus skin, and the animal is the umuziru [prohibited object] of the Bahinda who rule the eastern and northern part of Ruanda.

291
554 I was not able to determine whether the wearing of the cap by the ruler has any connection with the customs of the people in the Uele Basin where the cap is the privilege of the free man.

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1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 478.

291 554 Otherwise head adornment in Ruanda consists merely of a strip of skin or a string of beads.

291 In the matter of head ornament there is one important difference between the Bahutu and the Batutsi, although it is not consistently carried out. The Batutsi push their headgear over the forehead to the eyebrows, whereas the Bahutu push it up to the hairline and down over the back of the head.

301 103 Besides head ornaments they wear numerous amulet containers of antelope horns, wild boars' tusks, etc. In Mulera one often sees, in addition, long, thin cone-shaped pendants of iron with eyelets at the tip by which they are suspended from the back of the headband. It is said that a man has the right to wear one of these ornaments for each enemy he has slain.

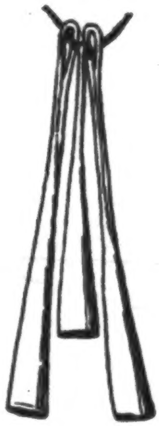

Fig. 62. Badges for Bravery, Mulera. (Approximately actual size.)

291 Nursing mothers wear a head ornament known as lugori. It consists of a band three to four centimeters wide made of corn straw. The band [175] is sewn together to form a crown. Decorations are sewn on the edge. In Marangara I also saw a Mutwa woman wearing a lugori of corn straw.

[531]

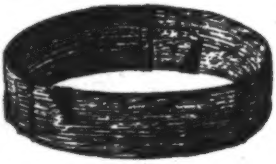

Fig. 63. Head Ornament Worn by Mother, Mulera. (1/4 actual size. L 14944. L 14944. 18 centimeters in diameter.)

413 With the other ornaments we must also mention the comb (rusokozo), although in Ruanda, in contrast to the regions to the west, it is not worn in the hair but is used only to comb the hair.

413 531 322 Combs are carved from one piece of wood in Ruanda and have three to eight teeth. As a rule, the teeth form the base of a triangle, the point of which is a pierced knob. Sometimes the comb

is rectangular in outline and has an elongated handle. The combs, as 413
I observed, are almost always very crudely carved and decorated. On 531
the other hand, Dr. Kandt (1) says of the combs of the Bahunde territory: 322
"I frequently saw combs worn on a string, with three to six teeth, some with very pretty wood carvings. I also saw pins to smooth the hair, made of wood, horn, bone, and other material. These were usually stuck into their curly hair."

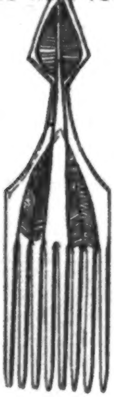

Fig. 64

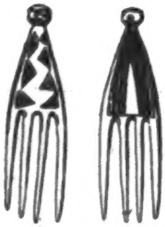

Fig. 65

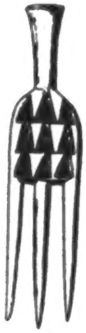

Fig. 66

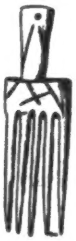

Fig. 67

Fig. 64. Comb from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E 13035. 27 1/2 centimeters long.)

Fig. 65. Front and Back of Comb from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E 13700. 14 1/2 centimeters long.)

Fig. 66. Comb from Nduga. (1/4 actual size. III E 13036. 21 1/2 centimeters long.)

Fig. 67. Comb from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E 13697. 15 1/2 centimeters long.)

The hairpins which Dr. Kandt collected west of Kivu deserve 301
special attention, for they are identical with the hairpins of the Momvu.

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1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 444.

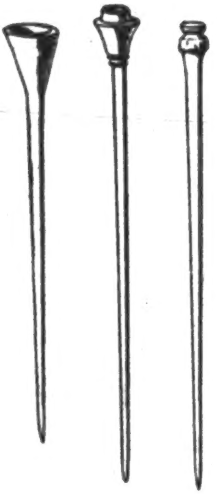

Fig. 68. Hair Pins from western Kivu Districts. (1/2 actual size. III E 10263, III E 10262, and III E 10266. 14, 16, and 15 1/2 centimeters long.)

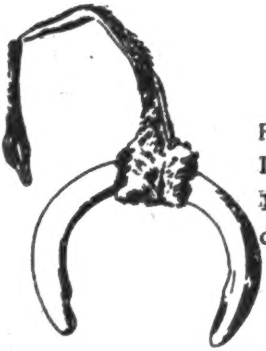

Fig. 69. Head Ornament from Itambi. (1/2 actual size. III 10182. 7 1/2 centimeters in diameter.)

301 The word for them, kassokodso, which we know from Dr. Kandt's research, sounds very much like the Momvu language in which kasso or kosse means "hair of the head." It is not impossible that we have here a trace of the Momvu who have been forced to move south by the Mangbetu of the Uele Basin. [176] Now, since the Mangbetu tribe of the Barumbi [Rumbi] has penetrated almost as far as Lake Edward, it is not improbable that a number of Momvu has been driven by them to the vicinity of Lake Kivu.

Dr. Kandt (1) also says of these regions: "Boars' teeth are also used as ornaments, usually for the head. They are either placed flat on the frontal part of the skull or on the middle of the head so that the thin, sharp part points up and forward. In Ujungu crescents were also worn, à la Diana. They consisted of two boar's teeth, the thick ends of which were hinged together with leather." I saw ornaments of this kind among the Bakondjo; however, they were worn on the chest.

301 554 In general, the personal adornment of the Banyaruanda is neither rich nor manifold. It is not differentiated according to social position. Here persons of higher rank do not wear show-pieces like the king's cap. Outside of Mulera personal adornment does not distinguish the brave man from the coward. There is a difference only in the amount of jewelry worn, for example, on the limbs of women and of the more privileged.

301 Actual body adornment consists of necklaces and bands.

The most common and popular neck ornaments are chains and glass beads strung on bast, if one disregards the numerous amulets which are worn chiefly by the Batutsi. Sometimes one or, less frequently, several cowrie shells are worn in front between the glass beads. One also sees necklaces made of the bones of goats and sheep. These are strung on bast and interspersed with only a few glass beads. Necklaces made of polished shell discs (kissanga) are rare. Sometimes the neckband is a strip of leather with an ivory pendant.

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1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 443.

301 Of the regions west of Lake Kivu Dr. Kandt (2) says: "Neck

2. Ibid., p. 443.

and chest ornaments [177] of baby elephants' teeth decorated with black circles like dominoes are also common." I saw none of these in Ruanda proper.

Hip bands are also decorated with beads. It is very striking that for their festivals and religious ceremonies the Batutsi wear a string of beads or several finely plaited straw bands decorated with individual glass beads a hand's breadth above their loincloths (mukane). The fact that these bands are separate from the loincloths shows that they have nothing to do with the latter. It is probable, therefore, that they have been borrowed from the Bahutu who in the region west of Lake Kivu still use them to fasten the article of clothing made of barkcloth which they draw between their legs.

Numerous bracelets and anklets are worn on the limbs. It is very probable that formerly, as among the Bakondjo, ornaments were worn around the calves and the biceps. Even now the men often wear armbands around the biceps, to which are fastened tiny daggers in wooden sheaths. At dances bells are worn around the calves, and west of Kivu people wear "rings made of iron wire decorated with little brass tubes around their calves" (1).

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 444.

[178] The most common form of bracelet consists of a bundle of fine fibers wound so tightly with a spiral of thin wire that the fibers are not visible. This bracelet is usually decorated with a large white or blue glass bead. The bead slides freely along the spiral and is usually worn on the back of the hand. The materials used are brass, copper, and iron. Brass and copper are regarded here as precious metals.

Simple bracelets (ibimiamasuru) made of a bent piece of wire are also worn around the wrist, more in Mulera than in the

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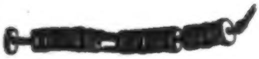

Fig. 71. Neck Ornament of Polished Shell Discs, from Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E 5231a. 44 centimeters long.)

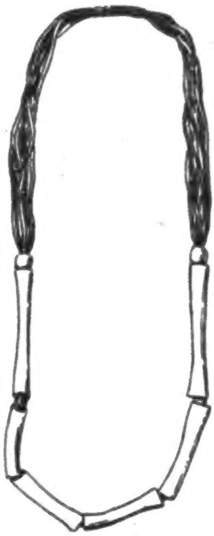

Fig. 70. Necklace of Sheep Bones, Nduga. (1/4 actual size. III E 13038. 2 x 41 centimeters long.)

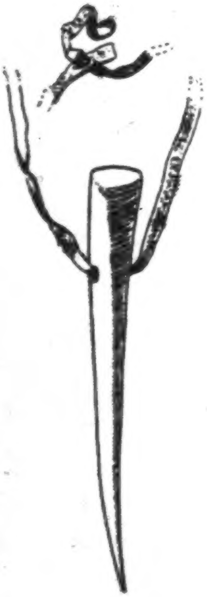

Fig. 72. Neck Ornament from Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E 3958. 14 centimeters long.)

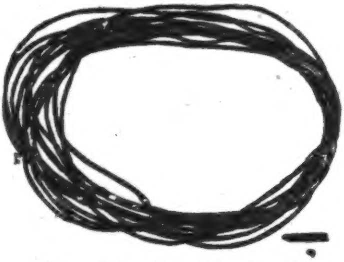

Fig. 73. Hip Bands of Straw, Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E 9909.)

301 southeast, it would seem. Sometimes the relatively thick wire is flattened so that the bracelet takes the form of a shallow cylinder.

Often several bracelets are worn. Sometimes we also find several thin wires welded together with their ends trimmed, forming a wide bracelet.

Captain W. Von Grawert presented the Berlin Museum of Ethnology with a bracelet which had the edges of the flattened piece of wire bent outward. The groove thus formed was filled with resin in which were imbedded bits of bone. I had an opportunity to see a quite similar bracelet of leather; the grooves contained small glass beads. Dr. Kandt has already described these forms. (1)

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 444.

I had no opportunity to see ivory bracelets in Ruanda proper. At any rate, my attention was not drawn to them. On this subject Dr. Kandt says (2): "North of Bunyabungu ivory bands [179] for wrists and upper arms become common. In Itambi they are even more frequent, and in Ujungu every third man wears them."

2. Ibid., p. 443.

Rings for the legs are, as we have said, worn around the ankles and differ only in size from the bracelets made of wire spirals and worn by the men. Copper is the chief material used for anklets worn every day. On festive occasions, however, the only anklets worn by the Batutsi are made of fine iron wire spirals. So many are worn, one on top of the other, that they weigh several kilograms.

The women of eastern and central Ruanda wear a large number of anklets made of braided grass (butega). These rings placed one on top of the other form a cylinder that reaches almost up to the knees. They weigh so much that they cause the Banyaruanda women to walk with a characteristic dragging gait. [481]

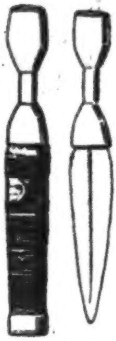

Fig. 74. Dagger Worn on Bracelet, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E 9896.)

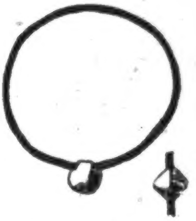

Fig. 75. Bracelet from Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E 6881.)

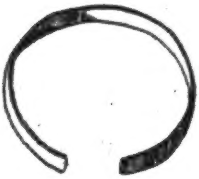

Fig. 76

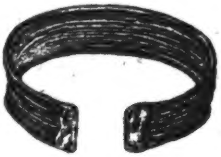

Fig. 77

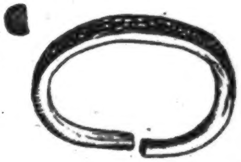

Fig. 78

Fig. 76. Woman's Bracelet from Mulera. (1/2 actual size. III 13708. 6 centimeters in diameter.)

Fig. 77. Bracelet of Wire Bands, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. L 14964. 7 centimeters in diameter.)

Fig. 78. Bracelet from Mukinjaga. (1/2 actual size. III E 6895. 7 centimeters in diameter.)

301 In Mulera the women also wear iron ankets seven to eight millimeters thick, and this I saw neither in Nduga nor in Kissaka. However, the number of butega worn by them was much smaller.

In Bugoye the women wear the same kind of anklets as the men.

276
415 Smoking Equipment. In connection with ornaments we must also discuss pipes and tobacco pouches.

The most commonly used tobacco pouches do not differ from those of the Bakondio. People of distinction have pouches decorated with a fringe of otter skin; on the cheaper ones this is replaced by cords. The pouches are made of braided bast and worn on the chest. However, sometimes they can be seen folded and carried on the head (cf. Vol. III, Plates 4 and 22).

[312] [180] The pouches contain a small supply of tobacco and a pipe. Sometimes they also contain a fire drill and other small items. I had no opportunity to observe tobacco pouches made of goatskin, like the ones used in Kiziba, but occasionally one sees a pouch made of a cow bladder. These are usually tied around the head and worn on the forehead.

276 The Ruanda pipe is very different from the Bahima pipes in the northern part of the interlacustrine region. Whereas the latter have round [181] bowls, the Ruanda pipe has a long, pointed, cone-shaped bowl, into which the cylindrical stem (muhela) fits, attached at a sharp angle. The flaring lip of the bowl (inkono) is sometimes thickened. The pipes used by the Bahutu are usually less slim and graceful, and one not infrequently sees types in which the bowls converge a little at the top, suggesting the somewhat convex Kiziba form. This type usually has an elongated pipe stem.

302 Body Treatment. The actual head ornament of the Banyaruanda is the masunzu, or hair shaved to form patterns. The masunzu are the pride of the male and are sometimes several centimeters long, which of course makes head covering impossible. Although the shaved patterns assume the most beautiful and well-groomed forms among the Batutsi, nevertheless they must, in all probability, be linked with the Bahutu substratum. They extend uninterruptedly beyond the Batutsi sphere of influence toward the west where they seem to be indigenous. On the other hand, in the east among the Bahima this form of decoration is gradually declining and disappearing.

302 I saw masunzu for the first time in Ishenye, on the eastern border of Mpororo.

In Buhaya shaved patterns are seen only on children. Among adults they are no longer customary. In Rufua they were worn by less than half the men, and it is only in southern Bushara that they have become common. On our travels they appeared in conjunction with the bow. Their southern boundary coincides with the southern and eastern border of Uha (Uiungu). (1)

1. Capus, R.P., "Eine Missionsreise nach Uha und Urundi [A Mission Journey to Uha and Urundi]," Petermanns Mitteilungen, 1898, p. 124.

Since the shaved patterns have been fully documented by

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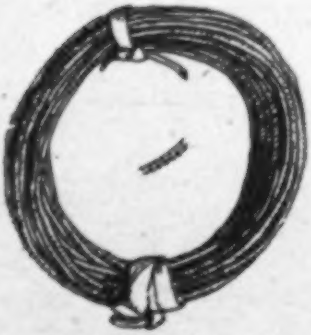
Fig. 79. Woman's Leg Ring of Grass, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E5233. 10 centimeters in diameter.)

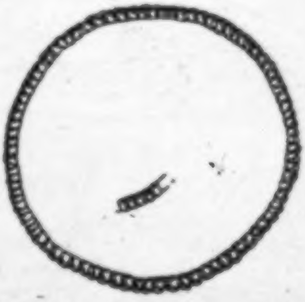
Fig. 80. Cluster of Leg Rings, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E13709. 9 centimeters in diameter.)

Lieutenant Fonck and illustrated by Father Van der Burgt (2), I can

2. Van der Brugt, Father J.M.M., Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi avec l'Indication succincte de la Signification Swahili et Allemande [French-Kirundi Dictionary with

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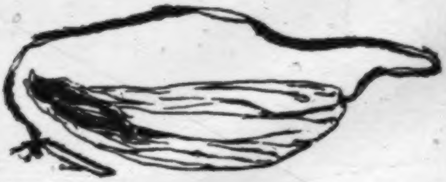

Fig. 81. Tobacco Pouch Made of a Cow Bladder, Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E6998. 31 centimeters long.)

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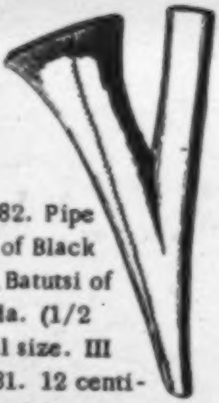

Fig. 82. Pipe Bowl of Black Clay, Batutsi of Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E13081. 12 centimeters long.)

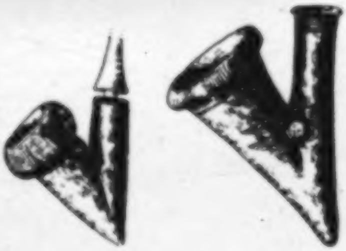

Fig. 84. Pipe Bowls of the Bahutu, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size.)

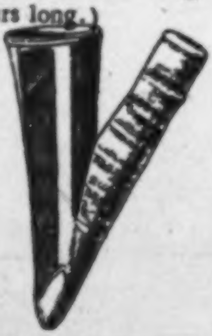

Fig. 83. Pipe Bowl of Black Clay, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E 13080. 9 centimeters long.)

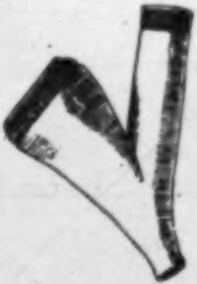

Fig. 85. Pipe Bowl of White Clay, Bahutu of Ruanda. (1/2 actual size.)

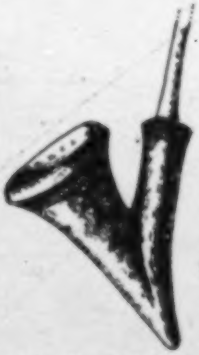

Fig. 86. Pipe Bowl from Bgisha. (1/2 actual size.)

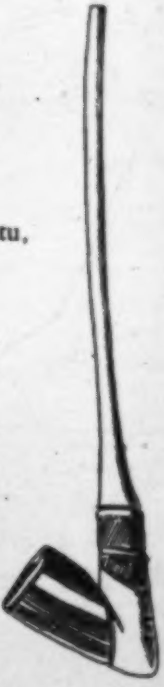

Fig. 87. Pipe from Mulera. (1/2 actual size. III 13715. 5 1/2 centimeters long.)

Short Definitions in Swahili and German] (Bois-le-Duc, Holland, 1903), p. 256.

limit myself to a brief discussion of the most common forms.

[182] In Kissaka the patterns reproduced here are the most common. Every pattern has a name. Thus the patterns of Figure 88 have the following names: (a), (b), and (c), mabangure or maagaleka; (d) amakike or bihome; (e) amazingure or amakube; and (f) mikaka.

The little tufts of hair are called induba.

The first examples are simple variations of the same basic pattern. The design (e) is worn primarily by girls, although I also saw them on men. In Mulera, pattern (e) is commonly worn by men and girls. In Bugoye this pattern is less common but was worn by old men, whereas in Kissaka it was the ornament of young girls. In Bugoye it is called kiziguzo.

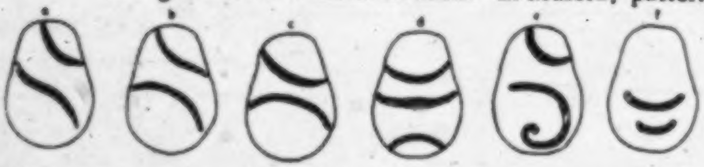

Fig. 88. Shaving Patterns from Kissaka.

The diagonal strips of hair are called imirara; the cross strips, intambiki. There may be two or three in number. If the imirara hair is very long, as I noted among the Batutsi, it is called inkanguralugo. The double spiral is called injerenge. I observed it in Bugoye and once in Bugessera. A ring of hair on top of the skull is called imikako. Married women shave their heads smooth. The completely shaven head of a woman is called imbalanguze. It is only in Bugoye that they leave a ring of hair around their heads. This is called ikikingo. Recently married women keep their masunzu until the first menstruation after marriage. To distinguish themselves from girls they wear two small crossed

302 strings of white beads on their heads.

Both men and women shave the patterns. They use a small razor which is honed on their own skin, especially on the soles of their feet. The hair is moistened with water and scraped off with a knife.

Beards are very seldom worn in Kissaka. Throughout the rest of Ruanda the sparse beards and mustaches, as well as the hair of the armpits, are not shaved as a rule. A beard is more
[826] prized than a mustache. They are particularly proud of the hair on the belly around the navel, because it is valued as a highly prized beauty mark.

304 In Ruanda people do not purposely deform their bodies in any way. They desist from piercing their ears or disfiguring their teeth. The only thing that could be regarded as a disfigurement is unintentional and comes from the fact that women wear grass rings on their legs. They not infrequently develop serious wounds and badly impair their shanks.

Tatooing of chest and arms is frequently seen among the Batutsi. [183] The Bahutu also use this type of ornament. In Kissaka not many persons were tatooed, but in Mulera I had the impression that considerably more people were.

Since the patterns of tatooing were also discussed by Lieutenant Fonck and illustrated by Father Van der Burgt (1), I shall merely mention here that the most frequent pattern consists of two rows of curved lines. The concave parts of these lines face each other in such a way that the two ends of adjacent curves fall within the concavity of the opposite curve. One also sees small squares arranged rectangularly in groups of 9, 12, and 16.

The operation is performed with an ordinary knife or a razor. First the pattern to be tatooed is lightly scratched on the

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1. Van der Burgt, Father J. M. M., *Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi avec l'Indication succincte de la Signification Swahili et Allemande* (Bois-le-Duc, Holland, 1903), p. 560.

304 body with the point of the knife. Later, when the design stands out due to the skin injury, short, deeper incisions are made with the razor. The incisions, or rather the punctures, are made while the skin is pinched and lifted with two fingers. The skillful artist does not draw blood, and the punctures close with the appearance of lymph. After a few days the scabs are scraped off and rubbed with butter and cow dung (kisheshe). No pigment is used. After the wounds have healed, the thickened skin at each incision forms a raised design.

If the tatooing is done clumsily, keloids form where the incisions have been made. This condition is quite common in Mulera where tatooing is done chiefly by Batwa. Keloids are a sign of the Lake Edward region, for among the Bakondjo living there very large keloid formations are intentionally produced, particularly on the back. In Nduga, the country of tatoo artists, and among the Batutsi, the designs are very delicate. The price of the operation is a goat. A person gradually builds up a collection of designs during a lifetime.

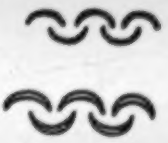

Fig. 89. Tattooing Patterns from Ruanda.

Tatooing, in Kissaka at any rate, seems to have no religious meaning and is performed without any kind of ceremony.

Circumcision is not practiced in Ruanda, but it is not unknown. This is proved by the proverb: "In the compound through which many people pass, circumcised children are born."

At initiation ceremonies and, according to Father
302 Schumacher (2), at [184] weddings, people are painted with kaolin (runoni). However, the practice does not seem to be limited to these occasions, for twice I saw painted children. One child was completely covered with a mixture of clay and ocher. The other had only an oblique line drawn across its forehead over the eyes. There was no question of initiation in this case, for the children were only five and seven years old.

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[113]

2. Schumacher, Father P., "Die Ehe in Ruanda [Marriage in Ruanda]," Anthropos, 1910, p. 878.

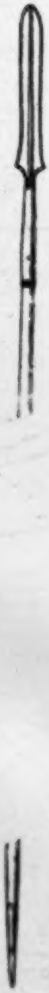

Fig. 90

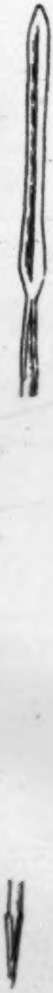

Fig. 91

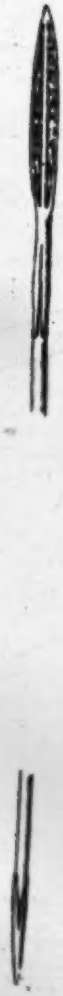

Fig. 92

Fig. 90. Batutsi Spear from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E13776. 209 centimeters long.)

Fig. 91. Bahutu Spear from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E13772. 241 centimeters long.)

Fig. 92. Bahima Spear from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III 13778. 215 centimeters long.)

302 We must mention that the children love to paint themselves on all occasions, or rather, smear themselves with white paint. I noticed that when there was plastering going on, for example, the children who were present painted each other. Similarly, in Issawi, children who carried bricks out of the swamp were intentionally painted with light clay.

302 714 It is said that in war the opponents paint themselves with different patterns so that they can distinguish each other. Dr. Kandt (1), however, speaks of another distinguishing mark:

"All of them (Bahunde [Hunde]) had tied a wilted banana leaf around their foreheads, so that later we would be able to distinguish them as friends if, as they hoped, we were to engage in hand-to-hand fighting with the Wanjaitambi."

The Munyaruanda anoints his body with butter. In Bugoye, however, which is already under the cultural influence of the Forest Bantu, they use the cheaper castor oil (mbarika, wono) which is also used by the people of the Congo forest. The same custom prevails in the entire graben territory [Rift Valley] as far down as Tanganyika.

411 Spears. The chief weapons of the Banyaruanda are spears (ichumu), bows (muheto), arrows (muhambi), and bush knives (muhoro). Furthermore, swords (ngota), shields (ngabo), and clubs are used.

[185] The spear is the most common and widely used weapon. In the north, where conditions are less safe, no one leaves his homestead without taking along a spear, so in this region we must regard the weapon as an essential part of a man's dress and ornament. In the central part of Ruanda, on the other hand, where stable conditions prevail, especially among the Batutsi, one often sees the long shepherd-staff instead of the spear.

The spear is one and a half to two and a half meters long, and its shaft is encased with iron sockets at both ends. The spear heads are usually grooved to allow the blood to run off, but they vary a great deal in shape. Sometimes the widest part of the blade

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1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 427.

411 is placed more towards the back, sometimes, toward the front. The length of the head also varies.

The typical Batutsi spear is more than two meters long and has a very characteristic lance-shaped head. The head flares out at the base, the first third of it tapers, then it gradually widens, but very little, to the final quarter and ends in a rounded point.

The Bahutu spears differ first of all in that they are less carefully made,but they also have spears which are simply drop forged without grooving and which have very simple forms. Among [177] the Bahutu I also observed many spears strikingly similar in shape to those used in neighboring territories, and these were either brought back by the Bahutu or made by them from foreign models. They usually knew the origin of these spears. Thus the one shown in Figure 92 was called ichumu ryo Rutshuga lwa Ruhima. This means a Bahima spear from Rutshuga. As is well known, these forms are commonly used by the Bahima in Nkole and Karagwe.

The models shown in Figures 93 and 94 suggest either Bahima country or perhaps Toro, where I saw them in large numbers. I was not convinced, however, that these were indigenous and had not been brought from Nkole. There I saw spears with barbs as well as some with two blades, one above the other either on one plane or at right angles to each other. Figure 93 was called ichimu lyo Lugobe and Figure 94, ichumu lya Mugaanne. The spear shown in Figure 95 strongly resembles the Buganda spears, but the model for this illustration was forged in Kihinga and was called ichumu lyi Kihinga. The types in Figures 96 and 97 suggest the neighboring Congo Basin. The first was called ichumu lyi Nyunga, the latter, ichumu lyi Lilera. In Bugoye and Mulera spears from Barega are not uncommon. They are [186] preferred there by elephant hunters. They have thick shafts and strong heads, and, in form, they remind one of the spear shown in Figure 96.

[187] In those drop-forged spears having a groove, the lower portions of the blade are left black, and only the middle rib and the edges of the blade, three to five millimeters wide, or sometimes the upper half, are smoothly polished. The sharpness of the contrast between black and white is the criterion for its beauty and elegance.

411

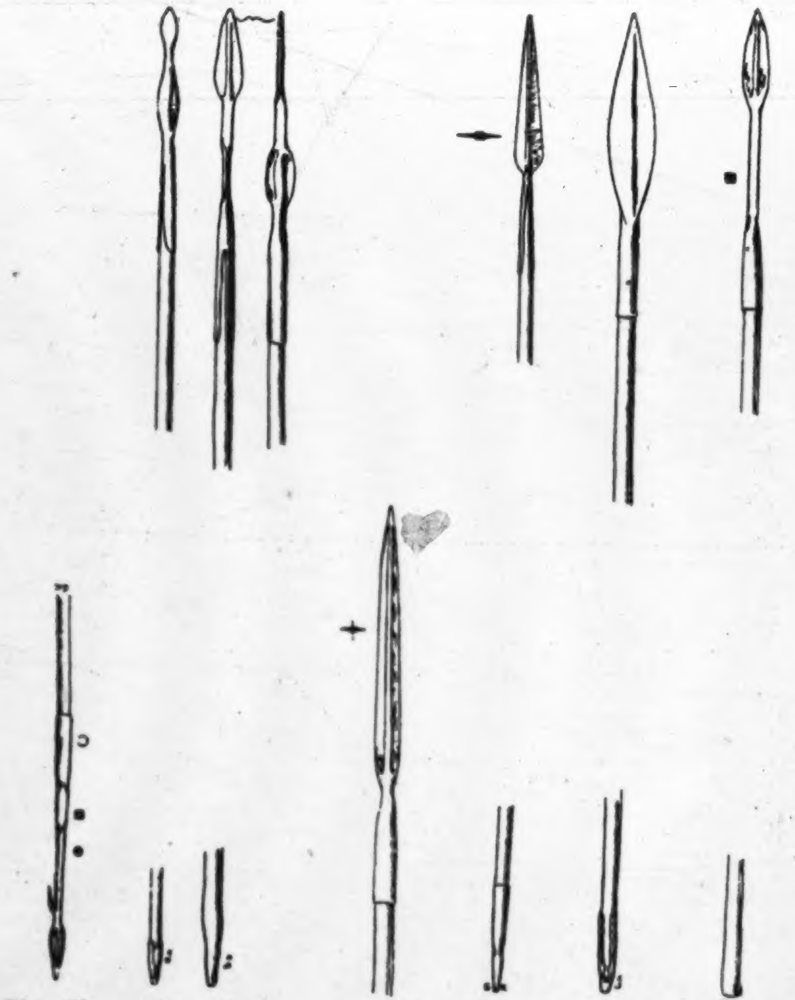


Fig. 93 Fig. 94. Fig. 95 Fig. 96 Fig. 97 Fig. 98

(Captions on following page)

411

Captions for Figures on preceding page.

Fig. 93. Spear With Barbed Hook, from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13783. 153 centimeters long.)

Fig. 94. Double-bladed Spears from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13795 and 13787. 166 and 126 centimeters long.)

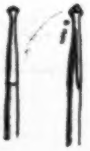
Fig. 95. Mulera Spear. (1/6 actual size. III E13785. 175 centimeters long.)

Fig. 96. Mulera Spear. (1/6 actual size. III E 13782. 177 centimeters long.)

Fig. 97. Mulera Spear. (1/6 actual size. III E 13796. 192 centimeters long.)

Fig. 98. Spear Without Shoe from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13793. 214 centimeters long.)

The shoe of the spear is very seldom lacking. Its form is that of a sharply-pointed cone into which is wedged the end of the spear shaft.



We mentioned above that the spear is a part of a man's adornment. Nevertheless, it is still a very dangerous weapon, and they know how to use it up to a distance of 20 meters. At this distance I saw a banana stalk, 15 centimeters in diameter and as tall as a man, hit two out of every three times. The force of the blow was so great that the spears pierced the stalk and protruded 20 centimeters on the other side. The spears that had missed the target penetrated 10 centimeters into the solidly trampled path and stuck fast, even at an angle of less than 45 degrees.

Even though the spear in Ruanda is used as a missile, only one spear is carried. According to Dr. Kandt (1), however, the Banyabungu in the south usually carry two spears with wide blades.

Wooden spears are used in Ruanda only

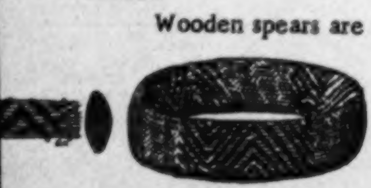


Fig. 100. Spear Holder, Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E 10070. 23 centimeters in diameter.)

[585]

[531]

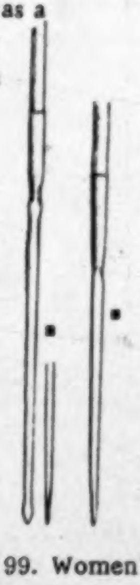


Fig. 99. Women's Canes from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13779 and III E 13789. 143 and 150 centimeters long.)

[481]

1. Kandt, R. Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 378.

411 [524] Wooden spears are used in Ruanda only as children's toys.

In this connection we must also mention the women's canes 411 (miterere), because they are not infrequently also used as weapons. 481 The shoe of the spear is here replaced by an iron ferrule 40 centimeters long, the lower three-fourths of which forms a square point in cross section. The upper fourth forms a socket into which the end of the cane is driven. The ferrule of the upper end of the stick is very similar to the shoe of the spear and ends in a knob. [188] Finally it should be pointed out that Ruanda spears are in many respects identical with those of Abyssinia, while the cane used by the women occurs in the Sudan, for example, among the Maka.

411 Braided grass rings are tied to the uprights of the huts for hanging the spears inside. The spears are stuck vertically into these rings, much as we stand up our umbrellas. The rings (rutagara) that hold the spears are no different from the rings placed under containers.

Bow, Arrow, and Quiver. Bows are not seen as frequently as spears in Ruanda, probably because they are carried only on journeys, on hunts, at offerings and ceremonies, and on war expeditions. The bow is a very important and much used weapons which also fits the character of the people. The Munyaruanda is [726] not enthusiastic about hand-to-hand combat in closed ranks with spear and shield, in the manner of the Nilotes, although he does not actually avoid this type of warfare.

In Ruanda we can observe two entirely different types of bows. The Batwa bows are completely different from those of the rest of the inhabitants.

The bow used throughout the country by both Batutsi and Bahutu is a typical example of the so-called East African form, and, like Dr. Kandt, I shall simply refer to it as the Ruanda bow. This bow is more than one and a half meters long, is round in cross section, has long points but gradually tapers off at both ends, has no notches, and is strung [189] with a cord made of animal tendons or of fibers of the nimisse plant. The bow is curved so much that it can be used without a guard against the recoil of the bowstring. It does not differ from the Mpororo bow.

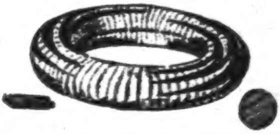


Fig. 101. Spear Holder, Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E 10072. 20 centimeters in diameter.)

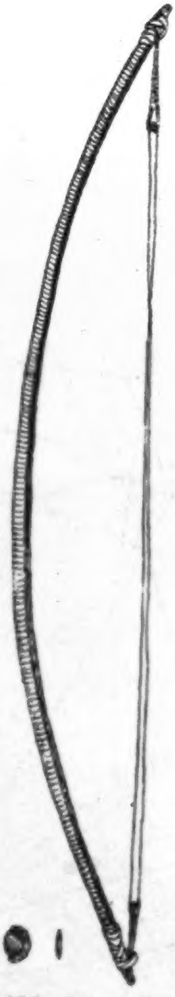


Fig. 102. Batwa Bow from Ruanda. (1/8 actual size. P.1850-68. 141 centimeters long.)

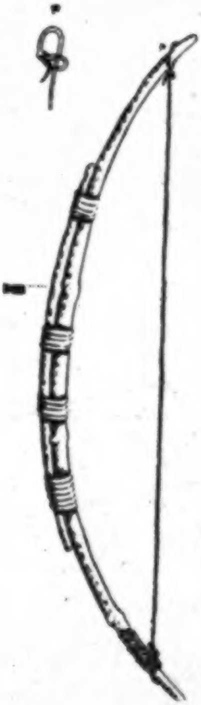


Fig. 103. Child's Bow, Mulera. (1/8 actual size.)

41 The Batwa carry a reinforced bamboo bow. It consists of a split bamboo staff, the hollow of which is reinforced with a stick of wood. The bow is more than one and a half meters tall and more than half of it is reinforced. The finished bow is bound with grass along its entire length, so the reinforcement does not show. The accompanying illustration of a child'w bow which I saw in Mulera clearly shows the manner of this reinforcement. This bow, however, is not made of bamboo, and therefore the reinforcement is not fitted into the natural groove, but it is in the proper position, namely, on the outside, away from the archer as he pulls the bowstring.

In Ruanda the string of the Batwa bow is made of a strip of bamboo braided at either end before it is strung. (1) The rattan string is wound with grass for protection against wear.

Lieutenant Bischoff discovered that the Urundi Batwa used a forehead bow [Stirnbogen]. These forms are not familiar to me in Ruanda, but they are said to occur in Butembo.

Arrows, like bows, can be divided into two groups. The first group includes the arrows for Ruanda bows. They have a [190] notch into which the twisted bowstring fits. The second group includes arrows that correspond to the Batwa bows, and these are characterized by smooth, often bulbous ends, similar to the head of a drumstick.

The arrows of the first group have inserted iron points and three radial segments of clipped feathers. The split feathers are laid along the shaft and bound securely to it. The two ends of the shaft are also bound to protect against splitting. At the nock end the binding is narrow, while at the point it is about five centimeters wide. The arrows are made of wood. The points of the arrows usually have the form of sharply tapered, long pyramids

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[113] 1. Luschan, F. Von, "Bogen und Pfeile der Watwa vom Kiwu-See [Bows and Arrows of the Watwa of Lake Kivu]," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Verhandlungen, 1899, pp. 634-640.

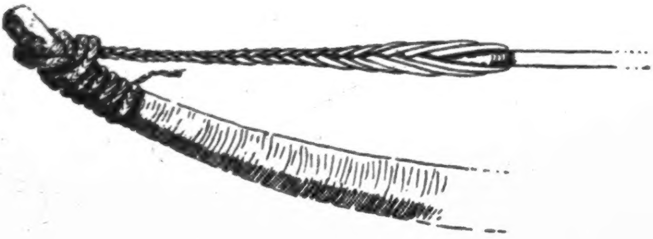

Fig. 104. Tendon Fastening on Batwa Bow from Kivu. (1/3 actual size. P. 1850-68.)

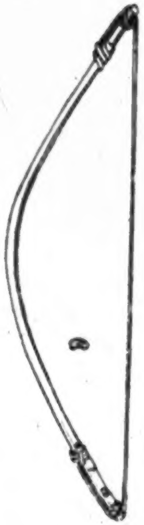

Fig. 105. Forehead Bow of the Urundi Batwa. (1/8 actual size. III E 8982. 68 1/2 centimeters long.)

Fig. 106. Tendon Fastening on Forehead Bow (1/3 actual size. III E 8982.)

411 which in cross section are rectangular, but not infrequently I saw points with two flared barbs, as well as drop-forged points in the shape of a leaf. I could not find out whether the points with barbs were local in origin or imitations of the Busindja design. It is said that in Busindja these forms predominate.

In Ruanda, however, I also saw reed arrows. They had round wooden points set into the shaft and were nocked at the rear end. They were not fletched. I could not find out more about their origin. It is not impossible that they had originally come from Bunyabungu. (1)

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 378.

Dr. Kandt's (2) description of Buyungu arrows fits the Batwa arrows exactly. They are "made entirely of wood, 80 to 100 centimeters in length, that is, extremely long, and they consist of two sections fitted together. The upper section [191] has one, two, or three lateral barbs – all made out of one piece of wood, it should be noted. It is curious, moreover, that the arrows are not fletched but have a slit on the lower end into which, before battle, the warrior inserts fresh fig leaves so that they jut out on either side."

Besides the above-mentioned devices for guiding the trajectory of the arrow, which are so characteristic of the neighboring Congo forest and the Pygmies, the Batwa arrows often have tangential fletching which consists of three clipped feathers, not split but tied to the shaft at their two ends. Radially feathered arrows are not common among the Batwa, but I repeatedly saw arrows without feathers. However, I found it impossible to determine whether or not these were meant to have slits for leaf or feather which had simply not yet been added.

The wooden arrowheads are said to be no less effective than the iron heads, and they often cause splinters and bad infections in the wounds. Bird arrows have three or four slightly flaring points which are carefully bound to the shaft. Iron arrowheads are used a great deal by the Batwa.

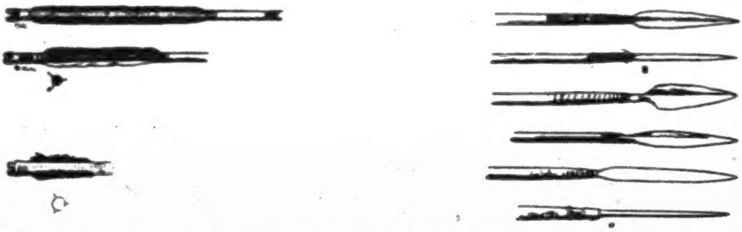

Fig. 107. Arrows from Ruanda. (1/4 actual size. III E13763 and III E 13077. About 70 centimeters long.)

Fig. 108. Arrow With Barbed Hook, from Ruanda. (1/4 actual size. L. 15348c.)

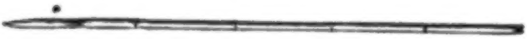

Fig. 109. Bamboo Arrow With Wooden Point, North Ruanda. (1/4 actual size. III E 13077. 35 centimeters long.)

411 In Ruanda arrows are not as a rule poisoned. However, Lieutenant Bischoff was able to collect specimens of poisoned arrows among the Urundi Batwa.

In shooting, the bow is held perpendicular. In the case of the ordinary stick bow [Stabbogen], the end which has the lapped bowstring is at the top.

The string is drawn with the second and third finger of the right hand. The left hand is extended and the string is drawn back to the right shoulder. The tension which I measured with a manometer amounts to 25 to 45 kilograms.

To protect the left hand from the recoil of the string special wooden arm rings (kigomero) are used. They have a small opening through which the hand is wedged. [192] In the huts

In the huts the bows stand in or are suspended from special racks on the uprights.

As for actual marksmanship, I observed that a banana stalk the height of a man which was used as a target at a distance of 40 meters was hit three-fourths of the time. The shot is very powerful. The arrow passed straight through the 15-centimeter stalk and protruded 10 centimeters on the other side. The maximum target distance was 170 meters. At this distance the arrows dug into the hard, dry ground up to 12 centimeters and stuck fast at a 30-degree angle. At this great distance the dispersion amounted to 40 meters. When the archers were making a tremendous effort they almost dropped on their right knee, but otherwise they simply thrust their left foot forward after the shot.

As may be seen from the above account, there is a great diversity of bows in the territory under discussion. Within the confines of the Kirundi language area, I saw stick bows, reinforced bows, and forehead bows side by side. Moreover, if we include the entire interlacustrine area as well as the neighboring countries, we must also note that we do not find the bow everywhere.

In the Kirundi language area which includes Ruanda, the bow is used almost everywhere. Dr. Kandt (1) confirmed this for

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 441.

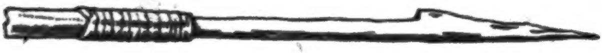

Fig. 110. Wooden Arrowhead with Barb, Kivu Batwa. (1/4 actual size. P. 1850-70b. Length of arrow, 97 centimeters.)

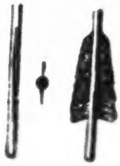

Fig. 111. Arrow Slit with Feather, Kivu Batwa. (1/4 actual size. P. 1850-70.)

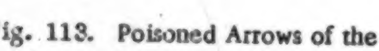

Fig. 112. Arrowhead for Shooting Birds, Kivu Batwa. (1/4 actual size. L 15026c. 84 centimeters long.)

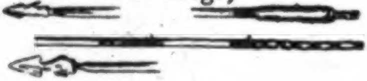

Fig. 113. Poisoned Arrows of the Urundi Batwa. (1/4 actual size. III E 8982. About 49 centimeters long.)

Itambi and says that of the bows used in Buyungu 30 percent were Ruanda bows and 70 percent Batwa bows. On the other hand, with regard to the southern part of Bunyabungu, Dr. Kandt says (2):

"I seldom saw bows and arrows and of the latter only a small number with iron heads. Most of them were very primitive and consisted of a reed shaft into which was set a spindle-shaped piece of wood, almost like a child's toy and yet meant for serious use."

In west Ussuwi no bows are used, whereas they are the principal weapon in Busindja. (3) The Banyoro [Nyoro] of the north fight only with spear and shield. In Toro I could get only bows that had been captured on war expeditions against the Baamba [Amba]. The Baganda also do not have bows. The Bahima of Nkole are archers and have the same bows and arrows as the Basindja. In Kiziba I was constantly referred to Busindja when I asked about examples I saw there.

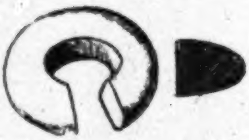

Fig. 114. Archer's Guard-Ring, Ruanda. (1/4 actual size. III E 13043. 10 centimeters in diameter.)

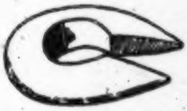

Fig. 115. Archer's Guard-Ring, Ruanda. (1/4 actual size. III E 9906. 11 centimeters in diameter.)

[193] We can easily explain the absence of bows in the northern part of the interlacustrine region as a consequence of Nilotic influence which must be regarded as historical fact. However, we cannot at present explain the absence of the bow

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2. Ibid., p. 378.

3. Baumann, O., Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle [Through the Land of the Masai to the Source of the Nile] (Berlin, 1894), pp. 211, 218.

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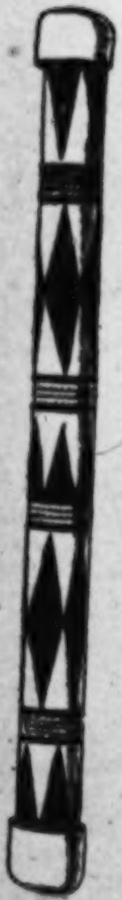

Fig. 116. Quiver for Arrows, Ruanda. (1/8 actual size. III E 13074. 84 1/2 centimeters long.)

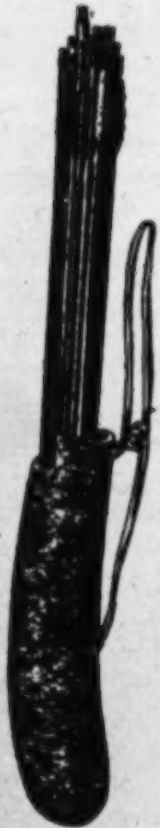

Fig. 117. Gourd Quiver, Ruanda. (1/8 actual size. L 17270a. 39 centimeters long.)

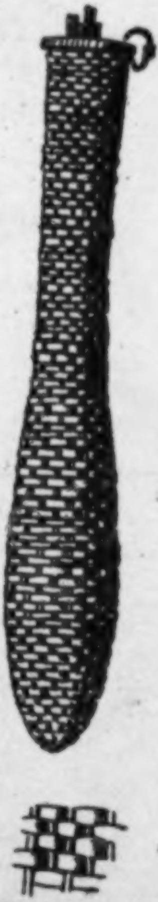

Fig. 118. Woven Bag Quiver from Mulera. (1/8 actual size. III E 13764. 70 centimeters long.)

in west Ussuwi or its scarcity in southern Bunyabungu.

In Ruanda we see quivers much more rarely than bows. If a person of distinction is accompanied by a man who carries his bow, the latter holds in his right hand one to four arrows along with the bow.

[194] At home arrows are kept in cylindrical quivers carved of wood and painted, with lids at both ends. In the field, on the other hand, I saw only woven quivers and some made of gourds. The woven ones are either cylindrical or wider at the bottom. They are usually closed with a lid and slung over the shoulder by a strap or braided cord. The lid slides along this cord.

Cutting Weapons. Besides spears and bows, cutting weapons play a very important part in Ruanda, but they are not sharply differentiated from tools on the one hand and daggers on the other.

The bush knife, already mentioned as a tool, is the most important cutting weapon. It is used not only to cut dry branches for firewood, to clear brush, and to widen a path in the underbrush, but also as a dangerous weapon in hand-to-hand combat.

The second cutting weapon, the sword (*ngota*), cannot be sharply distinguished from the dagger. Both have the same shape and differ only in size. There are also intermediate shapes. They are carried in a wooden sheath on the back, suspended from a neckband of hide or string. The blade is usually 40 to 50 centimeters long and 2 to 3 centimeters wide. It has a median ridge, so that in cross section it is rhomboid. The sword blade, like the blade of the spear, is left black. Only the two edges and the ridge [195] in the middle are polished. The wooden haft is carved, and, like the haft of the West African sword, it often has three joined parts. Sometimes the center piece is lacking, and the haft consists of two truncated pyramids facing each other, the upper one being smaller than the lower. The scabbard consists of two thin pieces of wood rounded on the edges and fastened together with braided straw. On the upper edge of the front part of the scabbard is a small pyramid with a horizontal opening. The neckband that serves to carry the sword passes through this opening.

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Fig. 119. Woven Cylindrical Quiver from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L17270b. 76 centimeters long.)

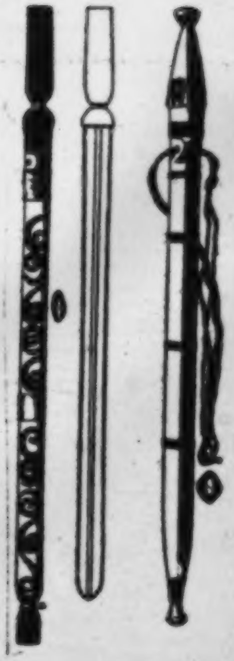

Fig. 120. Swords from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E13071 and III E 13072. About 63 centimeters long.)

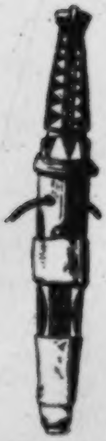

Fig. 121. Dagger from Ruanda. (1/3 actual size. III 13736. 19 centimeters long.)

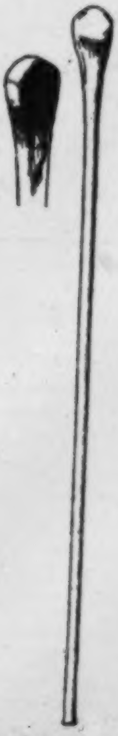

Fig. 122. Ruanda Club. (1/8 actual size. III E6879. 95 1/2 centimeters long.)

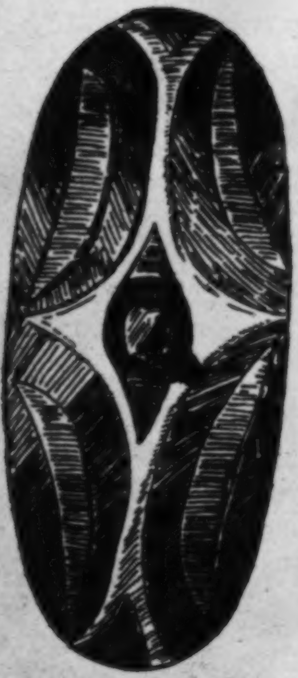

Fig. 123. Typical Ruanda Shield. (1/6 actual size. III E13761. 68 centimeters high.)

411 I was repeatedly told that the sword was a Batutsi weapon, but it is doubtful that the present form of the haft and the scabbard with all their details can be credited to the Batutsi. We must not forget that swords are also used by the Batwa and occur in the countries west of Ruanda, especially in the primeval forest.

[196] The sword plays an important part in religious ceremonies. It is used, for example, at birth festivities.

Clubs are found in Ruanda, but they are not very important. It seems that they are used more by the herdsmen than by the rest of the population. Simple smooth clubs are also said to be badges of distinction. Occasionally I saw a club, the end of which was decorated with four brass nails. The thick end is often faceted.

[197] Shields. Shields are very rare in Ruanda proper and in Kissaka. They consist of a slightly concave oval piece of wood with a protruding portion in the center. Behind the protruding part a braided strap-handle is tied to the shield. The [531] shield is painted black, white, and red. It is carved out of one piece of wood and is 40 to 50 centimeters high, 20 to 30 centimeters wide, and 10 to 20 centimeters deep.

The shield is common in Mulera. Here it has the Ndorwa shape, although it is usually not so wide. These shields are covered in front with rattan and are not painted. Thus they are essentially similar to the Uganda shield.

Of the shields west of Lake Kivu Dr. Kandt (1) says: "...as in the east (Ruanda), they are oval or rectangular with rounded [285] corners, made of wood which in front is covered with wicker running horizontally or diagonally. [198] It is very popular to put bits of mica between the wicker strands. In the center of the outside is the navel, that is to say, a bulge, which in Ruanda is pointed, in the west usually flat. The Wahunde also had other shields that were carried by the chiefs. They are very tall and [285] wide, rectangular, painted red, bordered with strips of skin, and very skilfully woven of reeds, therefore very elastic. On the

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1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), pp. 442, 443.

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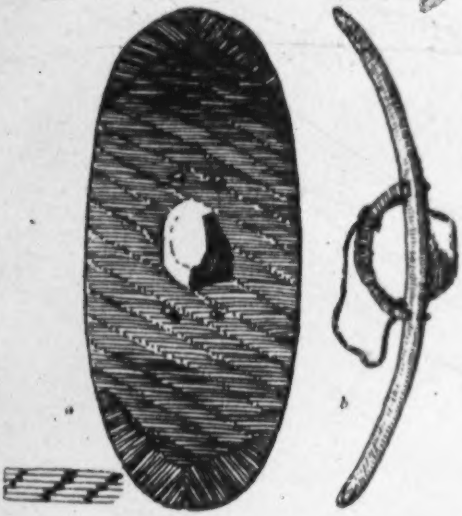

Fig. 124. Mulera Shield: (a) Front; (b) Side. (1/6 actual size. III E8969. 52 centimeters long.)

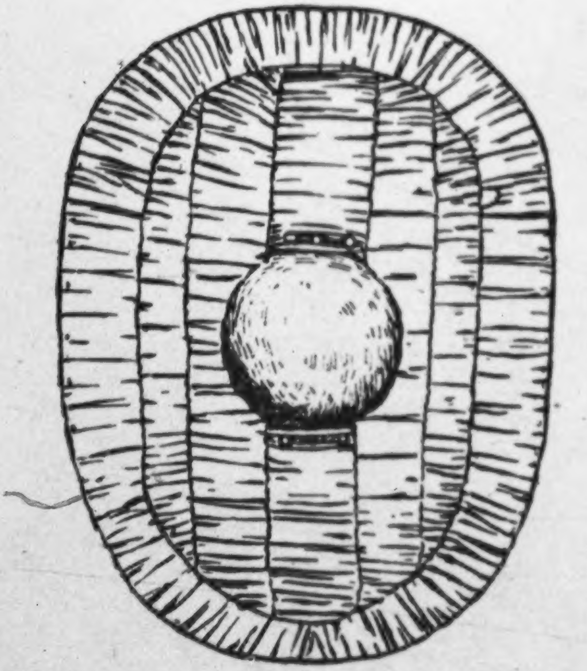

Fig. 125a. Shield from East Mulera, Front View. (1/6 actual size. L15032. 65 centimeters long.)

411 underside is an ornamented oval piece of wood that also serves as the handle."

Near Lake Luhondo on the border of Ndorwa I once saw a very primitive shield. It consisted of a piece of thick tree bark, in the center of which was attached a handle consisting of two bound, crossed twigs.

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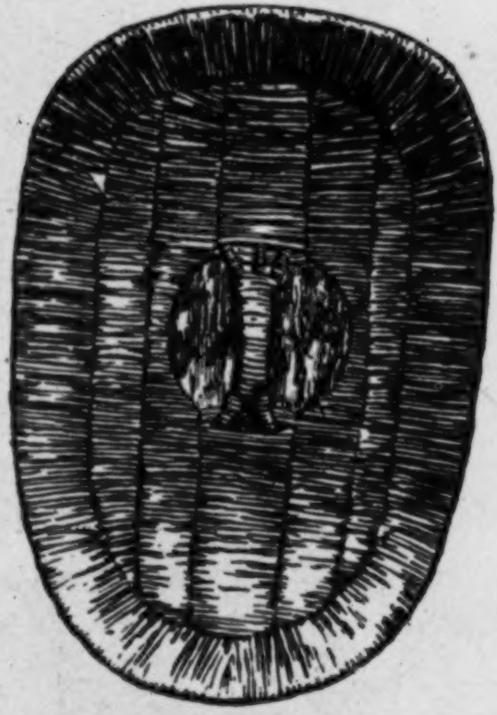

Fig. 125b. Shield from East Mulera, Inner Side.

The shield plays an important part in ritual.

[199] Chapter 9

Settlements and the Household

361 Settlements. There is considerable difference in the types of settlements to be found in individual parts of Ruanda. The typical form of settlement is the compound in which the

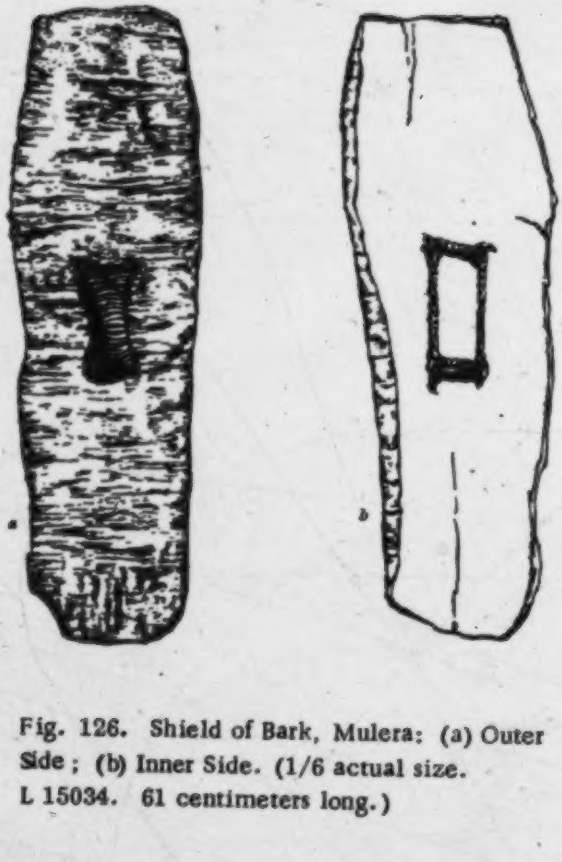

Fig. 126. Shield of Bark, Mulera: (a) Outer Side ; (b) Inner Side. (1/6 actual size. L 15034. 61 centimeters long.)

361 independent man lives with his women, children, and servants
[591] (bagaragu). The establishments of the well-to-do are quite large and often embrace a dozen or more huts. Poor people have only one or two huts. The large settlements of the Batutsi, with the exception of those in the northwestern provinces, are all widely scattered in the grasslands and are conspicuous by the tall euphorbia hedges and trees which surround them.

In eastern Mpororo scattered huts occur only in the cultivated areas; they occur somewhat more frequently near large Bahima kraals, as, for example, that of Kitaraya. South of Kitaraya, Batutsi settlements hidden behind their euphorbia hedges predominate. On Lake Mohasi the scattered Bahutu settlements and their banana groves again appear. Here Batutsi kraals are rarer.

In Kissaka and Nduga there are Bahutu settlements on the edges of the banana groves, but since bananas are confined to specific regions because of soil conditions, a certain concentration of settlements has come about.

Around Nyanza, the residence of Musinga [king of Ruanda],
[311] we find few and widely scattered settlements, because the land is reserved as pasture for the king's cows.

In Mulera where the entire country is under cultivation, there is again a regular distribution of farm settlements. However, we also note a tendency for relatives to move closer together for safety.

In Bugoye, which shows influences of the Forest Bantu, we find many compact groups of huts almost resembling villages, although these settlements vary a great deal in their structure. Here the
[65] hill dwellers, from whom their mugabo [clan elder] collects taxes which he hands over to the proper mutware (ku butaka, ku muheto, etc.), have all joined together in a single settlement. [200] In Bugoye we find settlements of over 100 inhabitants. The largest settlements are in Bgisha, north of the chain of volcanoes. They sometimes have over 100 huts.

The Banyabungu also live in large villages which are very well kept and have high fences. (1)

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 377.

417 On the subject of the fences of the settlements northwest of
712 Kivu, Dr. Kandt (2) says: "All villages have a very curious wall surrounding them. It consists of thousands of forked branches and split roots, 10 layers wide and 20 high. For natives this is an almost impenetrable obstacle. The villages can be reached only by way of narrow passes or very steep approaches, and on two sides there are gates that can be quickly and securely closed with trees."

I observed such fences among the Baamba on the Ruwenzori. In Ruanda one does not see them. Here the dwelling is, as a rule, situated on the edge of the courtyard and is, together with the courtyard, surrounded by a euphorbia hedge. The hedges of the individual homesteads intertwine and form a labyrinth that is impenetrable even with the aid of a bush knife, for if one cuts the branches an exceedingly caustic juice squirts out which is very dangerous for the eyes. On the inside these hedges are usually supported by a fence made of sticks bound together. At night the outer approaches, usually opposite the huts, are closed with tree trunks, the branches of which are turned toward the outside. This primitive closure cannot be removed from the outside and, along with the euphorbia hedge, makes a very effective though not at all conspicuous fortification.

On poor Bahutu farms there are sometimes no fences at all.

592 The Compound. The compound or homestead where one
351 family lives with all its relatives and servants usually consists of several huts that form a self-contained unit.

351 In front of the main entrance there is generally a cleared place, free of grass. In the mountainous parts of Ruanda one often has a superb view from this spot, for the settlements are frequently located on mountain tops. This is especially true of the Batutsi settlements north of Lake Mohasi. On the edge of this cleared spot
[372] are kept large supplies of dried cow dung which is used for fuel in the parts of the country where wood is scarce.

In the well-built settlements the main entrance, which is closed at night, is flanked by two columns of tied bundles of

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2. Ibid., p. 460.

351 elephant grass. In the compounds of wealthy persons, consisting of at least three huts, this entrance leads into the front courtyard.

[201] In this courtyard, opposite the entrance, is the kambele, the house occupied by the head of the family. On the side, usually to the left of this house, is the entrance to the inner courts. The front court as well as the inner courts are kept clean and free of grass. Here the clients and subordinates of the head of the establishment assemble to learn his wishes, commands, and decisions. Here he receives his guests who are conducted no farther [574] than into the kambele. Sacrifices also take place here. In Musinga's compound I saw two carefully tended sacrificial trees between the entrance gate and his house on both sides of and at a certain distance from the line connecting the two. In the front court near the house one also sees small spirit huts.

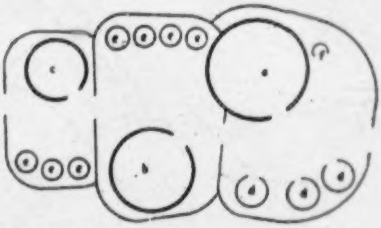

Fig. 127. Compound, Nyanza on Lake Mohasi: (a) kambele, (b) kagondo, (c) mubahutu, (d) stalls for calves, (e) storehouses, (f) spirit hut.

In many compounds the front court also contains huts for small calves, and animals are kept here at night. In one single instance I saw a hut for larger calves outside the enclosure. It was explained to me that the whole herd was kept near this hut overnight.

592 In the inner court is the house for the women, known as kagondo. Here the master's wife spends the day with her women servants. It is only in the evening that she is brought to the [604] kambele in a litter. The husband eats with his wife in the kagondo.

592 Usually there is only one wife living in the compound (lugo), and she has absolute authority within her sphere. Sometimes, however, as in the case of the king, many women live in one compound and are brought to the kambele in turn. In this case there are several inner courts with houses for the women.

Beyond the inner court is the rear court with the cookhouse, called mubahutu, where the servants live. Near it are the storehouses with supplies of grain. These, however, I also found in the inner court. In Nyanza on Lake Mohasi I asked why a strange Muhutu lived in the cookhouse of the compound, and the answer was: "It is his duty to fill the granaries." Since the man also had to take care of the kitchen, I think this reply must be taken literally; in other words, he had to store the produce brought as tribute by the Bahutu and not home-grown products.

The Bahutu compounds, as a rule, have one court in which we often find several huts.

341 [202] Buildings. In Ruanda there are four distinct types of buildings: dwellings, huts for calves, spirit huts, and storehouses.

The first three are constructed on the same principle and are distinguished from one another only by their size and the care with
346 which they are constructed. The spirit huts are the smallest and least carefully built. They consist of a simple framework of
343 branches stuck into the ground and covered with grass. The storehouses, on the other hand, differ quite radically in form, though not in the principle of construction.

342 The dwelling in Ruanda, as in other parts of the interlacustrine
171 area, has the shape of a beehive. This type has also penetrated the western edges of the great African trench [Rift Valley] and even seems to predominate in Butembo (1), although there club huts with four doors mark the center of the village, and the doors are made of boards. In that region the buildings seem to be identical with the ones I observed among the Baamba.

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1. Gōtzen, G.A., Count Von, Durch Afrika von Ost nach West [Through Africa From East to West] (Berlin, 1899), p. 261.

343 171 On the way from Nyanza to Mulera, at the southern foot of Mount Ndisa in the compound of Rwabakika, I saw a round hut with a cone-shaped roof. It was a small hut for calves with a roof that clearly projected beyond the cylindrical walls.

342 171 Moreover, in the southern part of Bugoye at an altitude of 2,000 meters, I saw huts that gave the impression of being round with conical roofs, but on closer observation they turned out to be ordinary beehive-shaped huts. They were simply surrounded by a layer of reeds on the outside, and above this rose the straw thatch, giving the impression of a projecting roof. The natives explained that the walls of the huts are reinforced in this way in order to protect the occupants from strong, cold winds. Dr. Kandt likewise mentions this precaution, saying (2) that the huts are "protected by a sort of rampart of grasses."

We must also mention the fact that Baumann (3) saw huts with a cylindrical base of bamboo near the source of the Kagera. Is it possible that these are remnants of the round huts which formerly extended farther east and which were superseded by the beehive huts of the Batutsi? At any rate the beehive hut is more suitable for the treeless areas, for in an emergency it can be constructed without timber, merely of elephant grass or millet straw.

342 [556] [203] The size of the Ruanda house fluctuates considerably according to the wealth of the owner. It is usually four to eight meters high, and one and a half times that in diameter.

The house of sticks is tied together with papyrus; nails are not used.

The house wall consists of three layers. The middle layer is constructed of vertical sticks supported on the inside by hoops

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2. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 298.

3. Baumann, O., Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle [Through the Land of the Masai to the Source of the Nile] (Berlin, 1894), p. 218.

made of bundles of sticks solidly packed together and fastened horizontally. On the outside the vertical layer is likewise held together by horizontal hoops made of bundles of sticks. This close-meshed lattice is carefully thatched with straw. The walls rise to a truncated point, capped with straw, from which rises a pole more than a meter high.

The entrance to the hut is framed with thick bundles of sticks and protected by an arched projecting roof, an extension of the wall of the hut. In contrast to the building method in Kiziba, this projection and the wall are a single unit, and the horizontal hoops run through it, so that from the interior of the hut one sees the entire roof of the anteroom. In Kiziba one can see only the doorframe to which the anteroom is added from the outside.

Northwest of Lake Kivu the huts have two entrances, probably in order to facilitate flight in case of a surprise attack. In Kishari, according to Dr. Kandt (1), the entrances are opposite each other; in Mushari, at right angles to one another. This arrangement must have been borrowed from the Babira [Bira] (Barega), for among the Babira at the headwaters of the Ituri I saw entrances facing each other. However, this arrangement can also be seen in Uele among the Mangbele of Gumbari.

The roof of the Ruanda hut is supported in the center above the entrance by a short, thin pole which is driven into the middle of the threshold at the edge which is ω-shaped, ten centimeters high and equally wide.

On the inside the frame of the hut is supported by a number of tree trunks, about ten to fifteen centimeters thick, with forks cut into the top to grasp the horizontal hoops.

The interior supports are placed very irregularly, and there is no central upright that would serve as the axis of the building. The pole at the peak of the hut has no relation to the supporting posts. Almost in the center of the hut are the four posts that surround the hearth. If the hut is smaller, there are fewer supports. They are

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 477.

the largest pieces of wood used for the hut. No larger timbers are needed for the entire construction, and in the case of smaller huts millet straw and elephant grass can be used.

[204] Here, as in Kiziba, the supporting posts seem to have a ritualistic significance, but I could not find out anything further about this. I only succeeded in observing again and again that one of the uprights had a white band painted on it with kaolin (*runoni*), which supposedly meant that the owner of the hut had performed a ceremony. I was not able to find out, however, whether this had something to do perhaps with initiation into a secret society.

A rectangular woven shield is used to close the door opening, which is supported by posts driven into the ground on either side of the entrance. Sometimes there are two posts on either side and the door shield is slid between them. The woven door shields are used throughout the interlacustrine region. In the west, however, for example, among the Baamba, they are replaced by door shields made of boards , three of which are usually tied together.

The Batwa huts do not differ in principle from those of the rest of the Banyaruanda. They are merely smaller and much more carelessly built. However, according to Lieutenant A. Couche, who told me this personally, the Batwa in the vicinity of Uvira live in trees. It seems to me, however, that my informant did not have an opportunity to observe this himself.

If a person wants to build a house, the site he chooses is tested with butter. The choice is a happy one only if the piece of butter placed there at night is still there the next morning (1), which probably indicates that there are no termites. The king is said to make this test with a piece of *intobotobo yi mivembe*.

If the test is successful, the future owner of the house prepares beer and sees that food is on hand. When all the preparations have

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1. Classe, Father, *Moeurs et Coutumes des Bagoye* [Manners and Customs of the Bugoye] (Les Missions Catholiques, 1905), p. 425.

342 been made, the neighbors are invited. They come and build the hut; the owner is solely concerned with serving the workmen. Some time later the door is built in the same manner.

In most cases the huts last only two or three years and must then be rebuilt.

[768] 825 787 After the death of the owner, his widow occupies the hut unless she goes to live with the brother of the deceased. However, the hut is abandoned if an ibis or a crowned crane has settled on it. If the bird of ill omen were a crane, it is pursued, and if at all possible, the house is built on the first spot where the bird settles after it has left the roof of the hut. [205] They do not pursue the ibis. In Mulera the Bahutu as well as the Batutsi are afraid of both birds.

343 251 Let us now turn to a brief discussion of the storehouses (kigega) which are so characteristic of the Ruanda compounds.

In Kiziba where the basic diet consists of the omnipresent banana which cannot be stored, there are no supply houses. The small supplies of beans and millet are wrapped in banana leaves and hung in large bundles on the uprights of the huts. In Kissaka and the rest of Ruanda where the main diet consists of millet flour and peas and where the small supplies of bananas are used chiefly for beer, houses are necessary to store the abundant harvests.

343 285 251 The storehouses are large cylindrical baskets. They consist of a layer of sticks running the length of the basket and held together by a number of hoops made of bundles of sticks. This basket is supported from below by a number of wooden forks stuck into the ground, which grasp the outer hoops of the bottom of the basket.

The walls of the basket are sealed with a mixture of clay and cow dung. Under the basket is laid a pile of ashes as a protection against the eternal ravages of termites.

This large basket, two meters high and one to one and a half meters wide, is closed at the top by a straw lid sewed to a conical lattice of sticks. In Kissaka the storehouse has no door, so the roof lid must be removed when supplies are put in or taken out.

251 Millet is usually stored in the form of clipped ears. Once, however, I saw an unusual instance in Kissaka of unthreshed millet

251 being stored in an empty hut. This must have been a temporary arrangement to counter the danger of termites.

In Ruanda some of the supplies are kept in the hut. Here, however, they do not use banana leaves but baskets sealed with cow dung. The baskets hold up to 50 kilograms.

In northern and western Ruanda there are often pits in the immediate neighborhood of the huts, where bananas are kept to ripen and fresh beer is kept until it ferments. The pits are heated before the bananas are stored there. To do this the smoke from the adjacent fire is directed into the pit. Dr. Kandt (1) is undoubtedly referring to these pits when he says that the cellars of the Banyabungu are: "...caves in the shape of butter molds, the walls of which are supported by bent branches and hoops. The hoops starting at the bottom form diminishing concentric circles up to the opening which is wide enough for a man to enter."

[514] Privies seem to be completely unknown in Ruanda.

[206] Interior of the Hut. The interiors of the huts in Kissaka
342 differ from those in Kiziba in that there are no fixed, woven par-
352 titions. When you enter the hut, you seem to be confronted by a finely woven wall, but on closer observation this turns out to be a row of uprights. Stiff rectangular mats are wedged in between them and bent outward. The mats are woven somewhat like the baskets; they are 2 meters long and 40 centimeters wide and usually sealed with cow dung. This wall separates the anteroom (umuriango) from the hearth section. On the left side is an opening which forms a narrow entrance to the interior of the hut. The position of this opening seems to be reminiscent of the arrangement in the Bakondjo huts. However, this opening can also be directly opposite the entrance, as is generally the case among the Batutsi.

352 Along the wall of the hearth section, usually to one side of the entrance, is the bench for the milk vessels. This is about 40 centimeters wide, 40 centimeters high, and up to 2 meters long

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1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 390.

352 and is covered on top and in front with mats. On this bench stand several simple vessels carved out of wood and covered with not very artistically woven straw lids. Above these vessels, on a beam placed across two uprights, large calabashes used in making butter hang in nets. In Kissaka these hanging nets are not as neatly and carefully made as in Kiziba. Small calabashes are used to close the openings of the butter calabashes.

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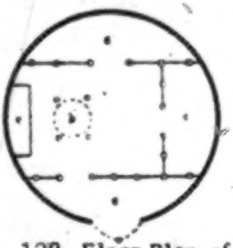

Fig. 128. Floor Plan of Kissaka Hut: (a) anteroom,
354 (b) hearth, (c) bedroom, (d) back room, (e) milk bench.

The hearth is situated somewhat to the left of center. It is shaped like a round clay slab with two concentric circles, one centimeter high and ten centimeters wide, to prevent fire and ashes from falling out. Well-to-do people who have a separate cookhouse do not keep a fire in the hut during the day. Their hearthstone is always [207] swept clean, and they light a fire only in the evening. Above the fire is a grill, that is, a slab set on four high posts. The bunches of bananas to be used for making beer are placed on this grill to ripen.

On the other side of the hearth, opposite the milk bench, is the spacious bed. This is surrounded by posts, and here again we find mats or plaited work wedged between them in order to close off the room. There is a separate approach to the bed, which can be clossed off with a rollable stick mat, like a blind.

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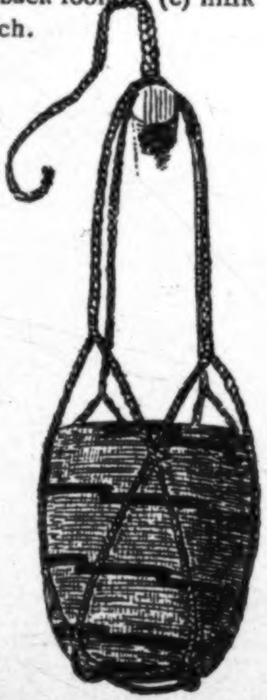

Fig. 129. Hanging Net with Basket. (1/6 actual size. III 13100.)

342 In Mulera I had an opportunity to see a different arrangement of the hut. Here there was no partition between the anteroom and the hearth section, and the whole thing was called a cow
354 stall (rubumbiro). The hearth (isiko) was in the middle of the hut. This is also said to be the usual arrangement in Bunyabungu (1).

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 390.

In Mulera, behind the hearth is the women's rooms (mbele) which leads to the niche dedicated to Biheko (ruhimbi). To the right of the entrance is the room for the calves (ruhongoro). The bedroom is between the Biheko niche and the calf stall.

352 In Ruanda the bed is made of wooden sticks. Four supports forked at the top, are driven into the ground, and on these rest two horizontal rods that support a platform made of wooden sticks. The frame is covered with several mats which make a relatively soft padding.

513 The sleeper wraps himself up in a mat, so that only the masunzu (2) and the toes stick out, which are not infrequently gnawed by rats, the worst plague of the dwellings.

415 On the side of the bed facing the wall I saw tall round baskets with lids (ichibo) filled with grain for sowing.

352 Beds are found in all the huts of Mpororo, central and southern Ruanda, and Mulera, but in Bugoye I saw huts without them. There were very few in Nyundo, whereas in Ruagari which is only four hours north [208] on the Bgisha border, people commonly slept on mats without bedsteads in a special portion of the hut closed off by a partition. This was also the arrangement among the Batwa of Chuma. Among the Bakondjo and the inhabitants of Toro there are beds in all the huts. There are none in Kiziba.

The Batwa west of the Kagera do not use beds nor do the inhabitants of Bgisha and north Bugoye, who are obviously influenced

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2. Unshaven stripes of hair which ornament the heads of men, children, and young people.

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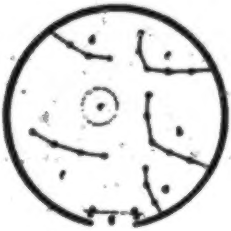
Fig. 130. Floor Plan of a Mulera Hut: (a) stall for calves, (b) bedroom, (c) sacred niche, (d) women's part, (e) hearth, (f) cow stall, (g) entrance.



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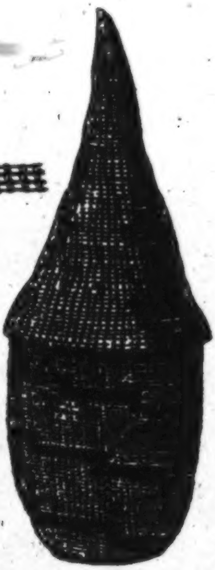

Fig. 131. Lidded Basket from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E 6890. 25 centimeters high.)

352 by the Batwa. The Pygmies also do not use beds. If we also remember that the people west of the Kagera make their bowstrings of rattan (bamboo) and use the wooden arrowhead, we may venture to surmise that the absence of the bed in north Ruanda is connected with the Batwa, that is, the Pygmies.

In the interior of the Batutsi huts I occasionally also saw a special room for children and guests. Usually the larger children and the guests sleep in the anteroom (umuriango).

The floor of the huts is covered with mats and not strewn with grass as in Kiziba and Mpororo. On the floor there is usually also a low wooden stool to sit on.

412 Household Utensils. In Ruanda household utensils are very crudely constructed, especially the mortar and pestle. The latter is a simple uncarved stick with a bulbous end. The gourd bottles, 415 too, are not as smooth and regular as those in Kiziba where we find all forms highly developed and perfected.

The most important household utensils are storage baskets, millstones, and various dishes for cooking and eating.

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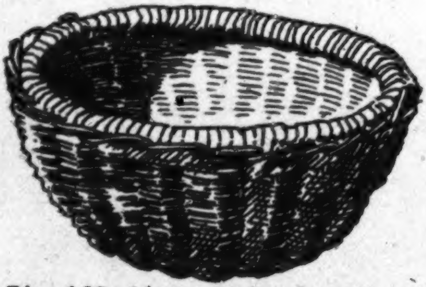

Fig. 132. Woven Basket from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13103. 39 centimeters in diameter.)

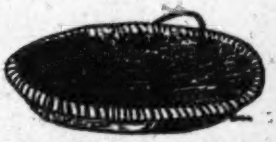

Fig. 133. Shield Basket for Flour from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E10922. 27 x 23 centimeters.)

We have already briefly referred to baskets. We mentioned the conical storage baskets of bamboo (Fig. 54), the smaller straw baskets that are sewn together (ichibo, Fig. 131), the shield baskets for winnowing grain (Fig. 28), and the traveling baskets made of

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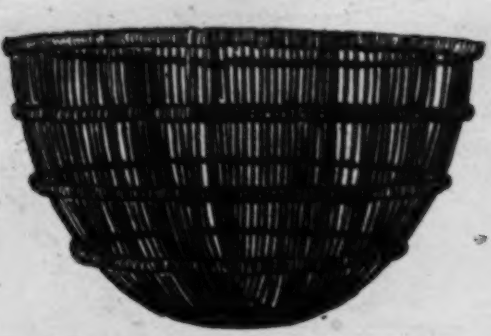

Fig. 134. Stick Basket from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E10032. 48 centimeters in diameter.)

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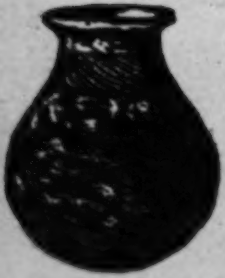

Fig. 135. Cooking Pot from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L15172.)

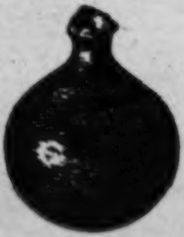

Fig. 136. Water Jug from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L15264.)

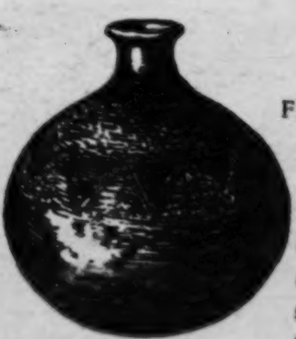

Fig. 137. Water Jug from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L14755.)

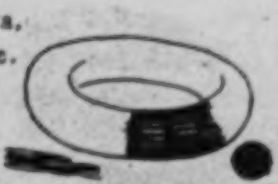

Fig. 138. Supporting Ring from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13726. 23 centimeters in diameter.)

415 sticks (Figs. 45, 55). The only ones we have not mentioned are
285 the shallow, wide baskets, sometimes made of sticks but usually woven, which are used in the household (Fig. 134).

[209] The millstones of Ruanda have the usual African shape
412 and consist of a flat stone on which another stone is moved back
252 and forth. A woman kneels and holds the second stone in her hand. In this manner the grain that has been dried near the fire is ground between the stones. The flour falls from the stone into a shallow shield basket (Fig. 133).

415 Clay vessels are used for cooking and to hold water and beer. The cooking pots differ from the others in that they have a larger
323 opening. Like the rest of the clay vessels, the rims of these pots are flared, making them easier to grasp. In cooking they are set on three hearth stones. The water pots are often supported by special woven rings (ingata yo kubereka). If these are not available, a small depression is made in the ground and the vessel is placed in it to prevent it from tipping over. The bottom of the vessel is always round. The beer jugs of larger dimensions often have a braided wrapper that makes the clay vessel less likely to break.

372 [210] The fire for cooking is produced with a fire drill in Ruanda. In the primeval forest between Kahama and Nyundo I met two Batutsi who were grazing their cows. They were scantily dressed and around their necks, on a string, they carried fire drills. In Mulera I saw a fire drill in the supply basket (isaho) which a herdsman was carrying. In Bgisha almost everyone carries a fire drill in his tobacco pouch, along with his pipe. On the other hand, in the villages of the more densely populated sections of Ruanda, as, for example, in Mulera, this art is scarcely practiced any more, and the people get fire from their neighbors, thereby showing their friendly feeling toward them. Fire is carefully preserved in the ashes, and the fuel is ignited from the small glowing coals that are fanned with a small woven shield (kakoko).

415 Crudely carved cooking paddles and spoons with long handles are used for stirring, especially in the preparation of the thick millet mush (umutsima).

Food is served in small, carved wooden bowls and in baskets.
415 The baskets are shallow and wide and have carefully worked
285 patterns in black only. In shape and construction they do not differ from the beautifully ornamented Nubian baskets, since they are also made of spirals of straw sewn together.

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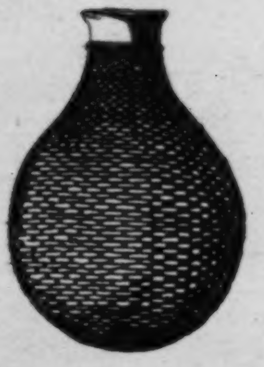

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Fig. 139. Pot With Woven Wrapping from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E5246. 33 1/2 centimeters high.)

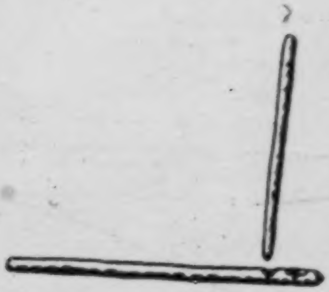

Fig. 140. Fire Drill of the Kivu-Batwa.

Fig. 141. Storage Basket of a Mulera Herdsman. (1/4 actual size. III E13681. 18 centimeters high.)

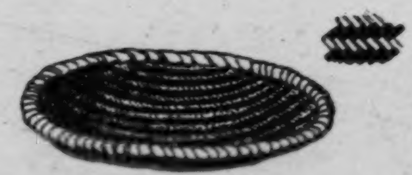

Fig. 142. Fanning Shield from Ruanda. (1/4 actual size. III E13675. Diameter, 21 centimeters.)

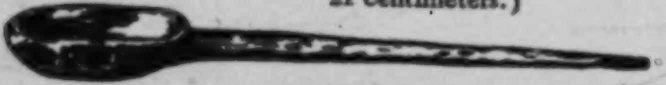

Fig. 143. Cooking Spoon from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L15081. 65 centimeters long.)

415 [211] The wooden bowls are usually elliptical, but sometimes they are quite long and have a handle, so that they resemble a very short-handled spoon. Twin vessels are also not uncommon and I collected a number of them in Mulera. They hold less than other vessels. These twin vessels have a common longitudinal axis, are carved from one piece of wood, and used to serve different foods at one time. The part that joins them serves as a handle. On the outer rim there is often the suggestion of a handle in the form of a knob or a loop. Simple bowls sometimes also have loops.

[212] Gourds are used to hold beer and water. In Mulera, as in the Congo Basin, large bowls (ulukiza) made of calabashes cut in half lengthwise are used for drinking. Usually, however, in Ruanda, beer is sipped through straws from calabashes with narrow necks. The necks of these jugs are not as narrow as those in Kiziba. The straws are kept in the huts in small woven or carved wooden containers (ikitembo) resembling quivers.

Beer is poured into the small openings of the calabashes with funnels. [213] However, we also find vessels used for pouring. These were collected and illustrated by Dr. Kandt. (1)

Milk is stored in the house in the wooden vessels (kianzi) we have already discussed. Large gourds (kisabo) are used for making butter. There are special small vessels for storing butter. They are made either of fired clay or carved out of wood. The latter are shaped like tiny dishes, but the edges are more convergent, and they usually have a loop handle.

352 Small, one-legged stools complete the furniture, but not every household has these.

462 The Household. The women do the housework which consists of fetching water and preparing food.

312 Fetching the water needed for the household is probably the most onerous task, particularly in the lava district south of the

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1. Kandt, R., "Gewerbe in Ruanda [Industry in Ruanda]," Zeitscheift für Ethnologie, 1904, p. 346.

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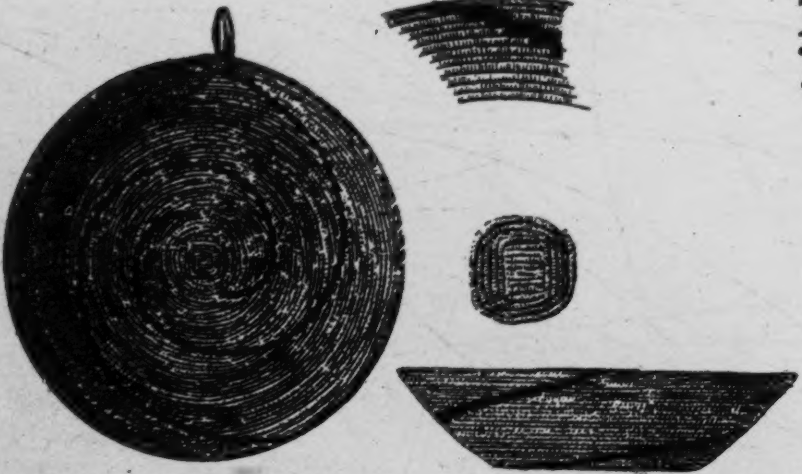

Fig. 144. Basket for Serving Food from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13670. 38 centimeters in diameter.)

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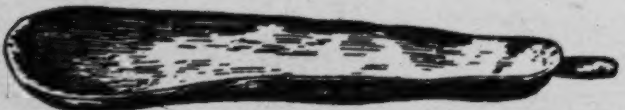

Fig. 145. Wooden Bowl from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. L15094.)

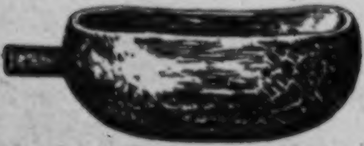

Fig. 146. Wooden Bowl from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. L1561.)

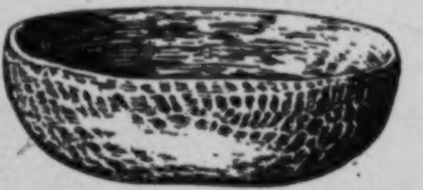

Fig. 147. Wooden Bowl from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. L15156.)

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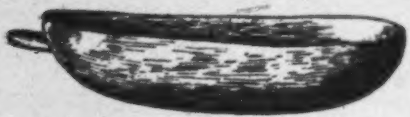


Fig. 148.

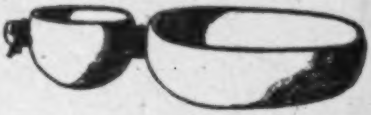
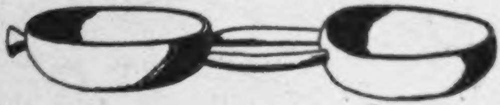


Fig. 149.



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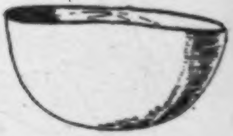

Fig. 151.

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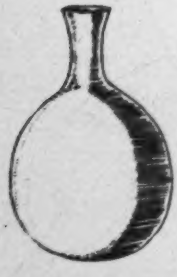

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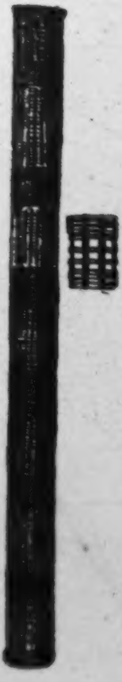

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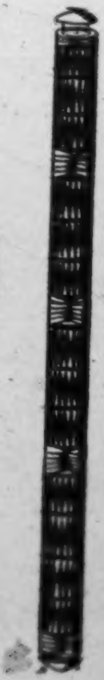

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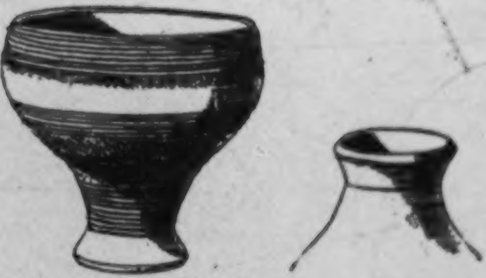


Fig. 155.

(Captions on following page.)

Captions for Figures on Preceding Page

45 Fig. 148. Wooden Bowl from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. L15160.)

Fig. 149. Twin Bowls from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III 9976. 37 centimeters long.)

Fig. 150. Twin Bowls from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III9977. 49 centimeters long.)

Fig. 151. Drinking Bowl from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E 13097. 20 centimeters in diameter.)

Fig. 152. Beer Gourd from Ruanda. (1/4 actual size. III E 13045. 17 centimeters high.)

Fig. 153. Woven Drinking-Straw Container from Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III E 10060. 65 centimeters long.)

[537] Fig. 154. Carved Drinking-Straw Container from Ruanda. (1/3 actual size. III E13048. 32 centimeters long.)

Fig. 155. Clay Funnel of the Batwa. (1/4 actual size. IIIE6628. 16 centimeters high.)

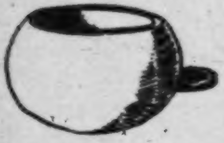
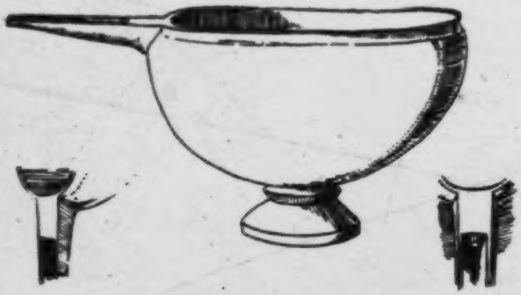


Fig. 158



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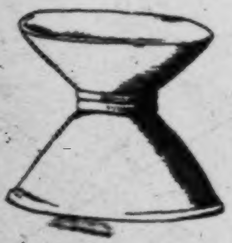

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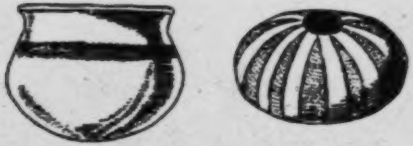

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Fig. 157.

Fig. 156. Pouring Vessel from Ruanda. (1/4 actual size. III9983. 14 1/2 centimeters high.)

Fig. 157. Clay Butter Dish, Ruanda. (1/4 actual size. IIIE9995, IIIE9992. 10 1/2 and 10 centimeters in diameter.)

Fig. 158. Wooden Butter Dish. (1/4 actual size. IIIE9971. 13 centimeters in diameter.)

Fig. 159. Wooden Stool from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E13745. 22 centimeters high.)

312 volcanoes. There the rivers run underground and open water holes are sometimes a great distance away, even several hours. In these regions rain water and the bitter juice of the banana stalks are used primarily, but a certain amount of water has to be fetched even in these regions. The collected rain water is very impure, for [214] it is gathered in small depressions in the ground from which it is dipped with gourds into larger vessels for storage. In Buhumba, along the route from Nyundo to Rutshuru, I saw that after a heavy rain waste matter from the dirty courtyards was washed into the water holes.

312 578 In spite of these difficulties in obtaining water, the Bahutu filled in a spring on the Karisimbi in order to get rid of the Batutsi who watered their stock there and devastated the fields. This example shows how peacefully herdsmen and farmers live together.

412

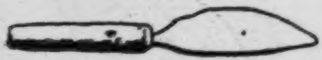

Fig. 160. Woman's Knife with Single Cutting Edge, from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. IIIE 13734. 20 centimeters long.)

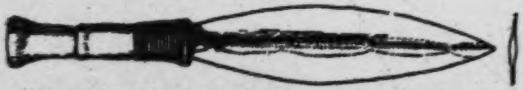

Fig. 161. Woman's Knife from West Kivu. (1/4 actual size. III E10172. 32.5 centimeters long.)

575 That the women have to fetch the water may account for their greater cleanliness. It struck me in Nyundo that one always saw women washing themselves along the Ssebeya, but one seldom saw men bathing.

462 The entire process of preparing food also falls to the women, and this is not limited to cooking. They must also thresh the grain, grind it into flour, peel the produce of the fields, in most cases fetch firewood, and in Kissaka even make the pots.

412 In their work women use small, crudely constructed knives. Only in the west do we find large, double-edged, sword-like knives used by the women. They closely resemble the knife used by Babira women.

000 the knives used by Babira women.

251 Boiled food forms the basis of the diet; however, corn, sweet potatoes, and peanuts are also baked.

262 The Batutsi's favorite dish is beaten sour milk, kivuguto. The Batutsi maintain that they live exclusively on beer, milk, and meat, but surreptitiously they also eat peas (maharagi), beans, millet mush (umutsima), eleusine (buro), gourds, and bananas. On the other hand, they seem to scorn sweet potatoes. This may not be altogether true, however. The Batutsi repeatedly tried to convince me that their diet was entirely different from that of the Bahutu, but this does not seem to be the case.

The diet of the Bahutu, as one would expect among the poorer people, is more monotonous, with less milk and meat and more umutsima, peas, and sweet potatoes. Fish is a very important part of the diet of north Ruanda.

264 [215] The Batutsi eat solid food only once a day, in the evening. They eat with their women, whereas they drink only with men of their own social position.

The Bahutu eat twice a day, between one and two in the afternoon and between eight and nine in the evening. In Mulera people also eat in the morning. This applies only to the men, since women and children eat all day long. The Batwa, too, are constantly eating, whenever they have a chance. It is said of them: balandwa uk imga, "they hunt like dogs."

Chapter 10

Family Affairs

595 The Family. The number of persons in a family, in the narrower sense of the term, varies a great deal in Ruanda. It includes the father, his wives, and children.

Since the woman represents a worker primarily, the number of women in a man's household may be regarded as the measure of his wealth. The poor cannot keep a wife, those of limited means only one, and the wealthy minority two or even several wives. This is why the Batutsi have more wives than the Bahutu.

595 Although a wife feeds herself and the market price for a woman is trifling the Bahutu, nevertheless the man must build and maintain a house for each woman. The amount of work this entails, considering the perishability of the straw buildings, seems to be an important factor in curtailing polygamy. In some cases, it is true, several wives get along with each other in one house, but the lack of a separate hut is considered a great disadvantage and usually results in a woman's departure.

612 The family in the wider sense of the term includes the more distant relatives.

If the child is regarded as the center of the family, only the ancestors in the male line of the father as well as of the mother are considered. The ancestors in the female line are disregarded. Of the various branches of the family only uncles, aunts, cousins, nephews, and nieces are to be mentioned, as well as the corresponding relatives of the husband or wife.

601 In the Kinyaruanda language there is a word, *basekuru*, for the abstract concept "ancestor," but there is no word for the concept "father," and one must always say "my father," "your father," "his father." For "grandfather," too, there is no special designation; *sekuru* really means "his grandfather," and the concept "your grandfather" must be expressed by *sokuru*.

[217] In the following table we list the expressions for the closer relatives. (See following pages.)

Older close relatives are simply called uncle, *data wachu*. More distant relatives are referred to as *mwene wachu*.

The term *wachu* used so much in the table of relatives is really a possessive pronoun and means "our," just as *wanyu* means "your" and *wabo*, "their."

The stepfather is referred to simply as the husband of the mother or brother of the father. [218] The latter designation refers to the fact that a husband's brother falls heir to his widow.

It should be noted that in kinship terms the father's brothers and the mother's sister are treated as two parallel groups, the members of which can intermarry.

562
264 *Position of Women.* In Ruanda the woman is regarded, in principle, as a lower creature, and married couples never eat together in public. In private, I have repeatedly observed that they usually do eat together.

	Father's Side	Mother's Side
Ancestors	basekuru	
Great-grandfather, great-grandmother	sekuruza, nyinakuruza	sengeneza, nyinangeneza
Grandfather, grandmother	sekuru, nyinakuru	senge, nyinange
My (our) father, my (our) mother	data, mama	
Your (sing. and pl.) father, mother	so, nyoko	
His [or her] (their) father, mother	se, nyina	
My husband	mugabo wanye	
My wife	mugore wanye	
Son, daughter	umwana	
Grandchild	musukuru	
Great-grandchild	musukuruza	
Brother of my father, brother of my mother	data wachu	marumi
Brother of your father, brother of your mother	so wanyu	nyoko rumi
Brother of his [or her] father, brother of his mother	se wabo	nyina rumi
Sister of father, sister of my mother	nyina senge	mama wachu
Sister of your mother		nyoko wanya
Sister of his [or her] mother		nyina wabo

(continued)

	Father's Side		Mother's Side
A boy says, "my sister"		mushiki wanje	
A boy says, "my brother"	mwene data		mwene nyina
A girl says, "my sister"	mwene data		mwene nyina
A girl says, "my brother"		musaza wanje	

The children of two brothers call each other: mwene data wachu.
The children of the mother's brother are called: mwene marumi.
The children of the father's sister are called: babyara (singular: mubyara).
More distant cousins are also called: babyara.
The brother's son is called: umushungu wabo.
The brother's daughter is called: umugore wabo or umukobga wabo.
The uncle calls his sister's child: muishwa.
The grandfather calls his daughter's child: akamumuishwa.
The wife of my son is called: umukazana.
The father of my husband is called: sebukwe.
My wife's brother is called: umuramu.
My wife's sister is called: umuramukazi.

562 Despite this disadvantage, the position of the woman in Ruanda must be regarded as relatively good. True, she does bear the burden of the housework and field work, at least in the poorer households, but the husband helps her with the field work in emergencies and always does all the heavy work. It is his duty to clear brush, build huts and storehouses, and help with the hoeing.

The well-to-do women spend their time at handiwork, such as making small, artistic baskets. It is said that while doing this work they consume large quantities of beer. They spend the day in the kagondo, the women's house, and, therefore, one has little opportunity to see Batutsi women. If you arrive unexpectedly in a compound, you see nothing but a few figures in flight, whom you can recognize as women by the rings on their legs (butega).

While the expedition was in Nyanza, Dr. Schubotz tried in vain to get Musinga's permission to photograph his wives. Musinga made promises but did not keep them.

There were, in fact, no women to be seen in Nyanza. During the entire three weeks of my stay, I met only two not very young women on the last day.

In Ruanda one often hears complaints about the dominance of women. The farmers especially complain about the wives of their chiefs who are said to be very disagreeable, above all when their husbands are away. A couple of times I heard about Bahutu who were beaten with sticks and badly wounded by Batutsi women.

It is as a mother that the woman takes on an important and esteemed position. The best example of this is the influence enjoyed by the queen mother. A king's son who has lost his mother can not ascend the throne. Sterile women are despised, and the only attention paid to unmarried women is that they can be married off, that is to say, sold, so that connections with other families may be established.

581 [219] Marriage. Marriage does not have the same social significance in all parts of Ruanda, but throughout the country a man can improve his status through marriage and even more so through the marriage of his children.

In the northern part of Ruanda, however, where the Bahutu are still almost entirely free, marriage is a political act of

581 great importance because it unites two families and is a step in
the direction of social integration. In Nduga where farmers have
no political importance, marriages also have no significance.
[583] This probably also explains the difference in the purchase prices
of brides. In the north these prices are very high; in Nduga they
are very low. Hence, marriages in the north are much more
stable.

583 The price paid for the bride, which must be returned in case
562 of a separation, is the economic guarantee of the permanence of
a union. In the words of the natives, a marriage in Mulera is an
act of exchange between two clans. One clan furnishes the
horned cow, *ntuku*, which is the bride price, the other clan provides the unhorned cown, *nkunge*, that is, the bride. The
woman, like the cow, is family property. After the death of
her husband she is inherited, so her purchase price and her progeny
do not have to be returned. This inheritance is called *kutshura*.

In Kissaka a bride is wooed when she is still a small child.
584 The suitor sends banana beer to the parents of the bride. If the
parents approve, they accept the gift. Then, when there is an
opportunity, the bride price is agreed upon. The presents of beer
are repeated from time to time until the girl comes of age.
These presents are supposed to call attention to the suitor and
further the marriage settlement. As many as 20 to 50 jugs of beer
585 are sent. When the girl is mature, that is, when she is about 15
years old and her breasts are the size of a fist, she is brought to
the house of her husband on the appointed day by the sister of her
father, her brothers, and her attendants (*bagaragu*). They stay the
whole evening, drink banana beer, and converse. While the bride
sits with her aunt in the inner part of the house, the rest of the
party is in the section facing the door (*muliango*). After the entire
supply of beer has been drunk, they all return to their houses, and
the newly married couple is left alone.

It often happens that the bride runs home to her parents and does not wish to return to her husband. In this case the husband must send more presents of beer to the parents-in-law. If he happens to be out of beer, he must send a man, who promises to send more beer, to fetch his wife.

583 586 [220] The sum paid by the bridegroom for his wife is primarily an indication of his wealth and not the purchase price of the woman. That is why the rich pay proportionately much more than the poor. Thus, a great chief in Kissaka pays two cows and their calves for a wife; a lesser chief pays one cow and a calf; an ordinary Mututsi, only one cow. The bridegroom's payment is called inkwano. On the other hand, the woman gets a dowry, known as indongovanyo (wedding present). The woman's dowry is given by her father and his sister. Each of them gives one calf, and, in very rare cases, a cow.

[643] If the king wishes to marry, he sends forth one of his men with a forked wooden stick called isando. The king pays for a wife with many cows, but he does not accept a dowry because everything, of course, belongs to him anyway.

583 The payments and gifts among the Bahutu of Kissaka are not so large. The bridegroom, for example, pays six to eight hoes for his bride or very often a doti (four yards) of material and a sheep. The bride's father gives a dowry consisting of one hoe, and the father's sister gives a sheep. However, considerable quantities of beer are consumed on these occasions.

In Bugoye where a cow is often exchanged for a girl, the bride can also be paid for in services. The girls can thank this market value in terms of a cow for the compliments of the elegant cavaliers who compare them with cows. In Mulera where the Bahutu are wealthier and pay more for their wives, they cannot get a wife without a cow.

589 A young unmarried girl is called inkumi. It is said of old maids that they fell into the hearth, baguye kuziko, or akapfa nimulindo, "she died in virginity."

836 Marriages with girls who have had sexual intercourse occur, but a bad reputation, at least in Mulera, is said to complicate the otherwise simple procedure of finding a husband.

[581] 584 If a Mulera wishes his son to marry, he looks around for a girl who might guarantee him important allies among her relatives. When he has made his choice and the oracle has pronounced favorably on the choice, he sends a present of beer to the girl's parents. The present is accepted if they wish to express their satisfaction with the courtship. The father of the girl must accept

584 the first present of beer, even though he intends to withdraw his approval later. The refusal to accept the first gift is considered a bad insult and evokes bitter enmity. The visits accompanying the presents of beer are repeated from time to time. If the father of the girl does not discourage these visits, the price of the bride is discussed during the drinking bouts. In most cases it is a cow and two jugs of beer. The latter, however, can also be replaced by hoes. [221] The cow wears the vine around its neck known as _mushishwa_, and to it are fastened one of the two beer jugs or the hoe. The name for all these things is _bukwe_, "bride price." The _mushishwa_ plant is added to make the agreement binding, to prevent the parents from changing their minds and giving the girl to another youth. Gifts are given to the nearest relatives of the girl as well as to the father. The father's brother gets three jugs of beer, and the mother's brother, two. The girl's mother gets three hoes, the maternal grandmother and the brothers, one hoe each. Payments are delivered a few days after the first negotiations. If the marriage does not take place, the bride price and, above all, the hoe with the _mushishwa_ must be returned.

As the date of the marriage draws near, the visits with the obligatory presents of beer become more frequent. After a specified amount of beer has been drunk, the day of the ceremony is agreed upon.

585 The relatives of the bridegroom prepare a large amount of beer. The father of the girl or, if he is no longer living, her older brother invites relatives and women friends to bring the girl to the house of her future husband, along with a large retinue.

The girl is wrapped in a mat and either led or, if the roads are bad, carried. If during this journey anyone succeeds in catching a glimpse of the bride's face, the marriage will be of short duration. The retinue also carries an empty gourd, which is supposed to assure the girl of progeny, and the gifts from her relatives. In one of the baskets is the cowhide which she will wear after she is married; the other contains her jewelry. The procession sings along the entire way. The girl is received at the entrance to the courtyard of the bridegroom, who comes to meet her holding a gourd.

585 He hands it to her, lifts the skin in which he is dressed, and exposes his thigh with the words: "ndakuhaye omurundi, uzachukura inka yo kukuhaliki (I give you my leg, it will become a bull for you, that will mount you)."

The gourd which the man hands over is a symbol for the belly of a pregnant woman, and the ceremony symbolically expresses the wish of the man that she bear him children. The bride walks through the courtyard and enters the house where the marriage ceremony is to be continued. There she gives her future mother-in-law the gourd, kisabo, for safekeeping. She also leaves her the gourd she brought along and the two baskets of presents. The [782] second gourd is very carefully preserved, for in it the young wife [222], after the birth of her child, brings beer to the home of her parents to sacrifice to the manes. In this way she requests the manes not to harm her child. Little children are given liquids from the same gourd. It must be quite new and must not have been used previously, even for water.

Afterwards the guests separate within the house. The women go to their section of the house, the mbele, opposite the entrance; the men remain in the ikirambi, the middle of the house. The basangwa, guests of the bridegroom, sit on one side; the baheleketa, members of the bridal procession, sit on the other. The uninvited guests remain in the courtyard outside the hut.

After everyone has drunk copiously of the beer, they ask for food. One of those present suggests that they begin with the marriage ceremony, since it is getting late. The bridegroom gets up, takes a container of milk, and goes to the women's section. The women resist and do not let him get near the bride. The bridegroom violently drives them away and strides toward the girl who is sitting on the ground with her legs spread apart. He kneels in front of her, spits milk on her breasts, and says as he rises: "mumpe impundu, ndalongoye (give me shouts of joy, I have married)."

This is the core of the entire marriage ceremony. Unmarried girls may not be present when this takes place. The parents of the girl and the brothers of her father are not present at the wedding. They celebrate the daughter's marriage with beer in their own home.

585 842 After this ceremony one of the young husband's sisters grinds flour, makes millet mush, and distributes it among the small children. This is done in order to guarantee the young couple numerous progeny. The same girl prepares food for the young wife on the following day.

585 782 The marriage ceremonies are concluded with the sacrifice of a goat. After the children have eaten their millet mush, the head of the family says: "We are going to eat." The guest reply that the women would like to wash their hands. The women do not agree with this and say: "We shall eat after the men have finished." Then the head of the family has a goat brought to him. After this is done, the guests look at the goat critically and say that it is not beautiful enough. Then another is fetched. This, also, does not satisfy the demands of those present. Then a third one is brought. This can be accepted if it is beautiful. After the goat has been accepted, it is beaten with a stick while being driven to the bridegroom's house. It is killed near his bed with kicks and blows, not with a knife in the usual way.

This ceremony supposedly indicates how the wife would have been treated if this sacrifice had not been made. According to another version [223], it means that the woman should be as soft and yielding as the goat that had all its bones broken. The meat must be divided among those present, otherwise the marriage would be childless. The men eat it on the same day; the women take it home for the children, because in Mulera they themselves may not eat goat's meat.

585 The men eat the meat along with millet mush. After everyone has eaten and drunk his fill, the guests disperse in the morning. The guests of the bridegroom accompany the guests of the bride for a short distance and honor them in this way.

The young husband soon returns, takes the firewood that has been prepared, and lights two fires at the places where the women and the men were seated. The bride goes out with the guests but immediately returns to her mother-in-law, where she remains. The mother-in-law prepares a meal, but the young bride refuses to eat it. The husband must persuade his hungry wife to do so by giving her presents.

In the evening the mother-in-law tries to prevail upon the wife to go to her husband's hut. The wife stubbornly resists yielding to

585 her husband, and there is a quarrel. It is proper for the man to show marks on his body which indicate to everyone that his wife bravely defended herself and did not yield like a hussy. However, the man may not be strong enough to break the wife's resistance with force, and he must then persuade her with presents to eat and to yield to him.

After the marriage, the woman must remain hidden for a time, that is, until her relatives come with gifts of beer, food, and bracelets. This visit usually takes place on the third day. On this occasion mats are brought along which the young wife made at home. She may chat with her relatives, the young girls who brought the mats. On this day there is dancing, singing, and much drinking.

Some time afterwards the parents again send their daughter presents. Among these, besides food, is a brand new hoe with a new handle. On this day the wife dances with her husband and the new hoe while the rest of the relatives sing an accompaniment. The wife then goes to the field for the first time and works a little. Until this day, called kushishura, the man has no sexual inter-
[842] course with his other wives. After the hoeing, grains of millet are brought to the young woman. A handful is scattered on a mat, and she must pick them up with one sweep of her hand. If she fails, the prospects of numerous progeny are poor. She and her husband together grind these grains and use the flour to make beer which they give to small children in order that they themselves will have children.

841 [224] During the first menstrual period after her marriage,
the woman is given the cowhide which constitutes the dress of
291 married women, and her head is shaved. However, since girls are
302 not infrequently married before they are mature, it often happens
585 that the wife goes about with her masunzu (shaved pattern) for a
long time, waiting for the cowhide. Father F. Dufays told me
that he knows of a case where a wife waited eight months for her
cowhide, but it is said that the wife sometimes waits as long as
two years.

841 Thus, a superstitition has arisen about the shaved pattern on
302 the head. According to it, if a wife does not give up her maiden
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841 adornment at the proper time (first menstrual period after mar-
302 riage), one of the partners will die young. After her head has
585 been shaved the wife receives gifts from her husband.

585 - When the woman has put on her cowhide, she pays her
574 parents a visit. It sometimes happens that if the menstrual period is early this visit precedes the gift of the first hoe. On the way to her parents she has her head wrapped in the skin and is wearing her best jewelry. At her parents' house she grinds flour and fills a basket, piling it high. She removes as much as is piled over the edge of the basket and takes this to her husband. It is cooked
[842] to a stiff mush, and husband and wife eat it together. This ceremony is also supposed to guarantee numerous descendants.

593 Children are prominent in the family. The parents love them tenderly and treat them well. Although the intimate relationship between mother and child excludes the father somewhat, nevertheless the husband and wife show a certain attachment and tenderness toward one another. This is said to be true particularly of the Batutsi.

In Mulera, when a man goes on a journey, his wife pours off a little beer from each jug used and puts it aside. If the man returns and finds no beer, he concludes that his wife has not thought of him and has been unfaithful to him.

586 In Nduga, as we have mentioned before, marriages are of only moderate duration.

585 The Mulera wedding has been beautifully and completely described by Father Felix Dufays (1), and the marriage customs in
[113]
other parts of Ruanda were discussed by Father P. Schumacher.(2)

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1. Dufays, Father F., "Lied und Gesang bei Brautwerbung und Hochzeit in Mulera-Ruanda [Song and Singing during Courtship and Marriage in Mulera-Ruanda]," Anthropos, 1909, pp. 847-878.

2. Schumacher, Father P., "Die Ehe in Ruanda [Marriage in Ruanda]," Anthropos, 1910, pp. 870-906.

585 **Extramarital Relations.** Not all women who share a house-
567 hold with a man are his regular wives (basumba kazi) with whom
588 he has entered into a formal purchase marriage. Concubines
588 and slaves (baja) are also kept in Ruanda. The concubines are [225] usually childless widows and abandoned or fugitive women. They settle wherever they find a relatively good refuge. The baja are sold by their parents when they are children, usually in exchange for food during a famine. They are simply women without ties, but who are otherwise very much like the other women and usually also have their own huts. Their children are likewise said to belong to the father's family, although they are not regarded as equal. Such children of Batutsi men, for example, are said not to be regarded as Batutsi although they have the same family name.

588 The chiefs grant baja to their clients, a practice which is
567 even more clearly defined among the Azande and Mangbetu, for example. The baja, along with the cow, are the means whereby the powerful one binds his clients to himself and thus strengthens his power.

567 Just as a man can grant a cow to a client and also demand it
574 back, so he can likewise put a muja at the temporary disposal of
837 a favorite. Under these circumstances the entertainment of guests with women "who are to warm his bed for him" is quite understandable. The less esteemed guests are given baja; the highly respected guests, on the other hand, are honored by being offered regular wives.

574 In general, a man on a journey has at his disposal the wives
837 of his blood brothers. Dr. Kandt (1) says that from certain social aspects this arrangement has its positive points: "Alternating connubium, that is, the interchangeable pairing of several male blood relatives with all their wives, as is permitted in Ruanda, prevents the loss of the female element in the preservation of the race, should the male element prove unfit."

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1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 177.

574 837 This custom seems to be widespread particularly among the Batutsi as well as among the Bahima. Father Achte sees in it the reason why polygamy is relatively undeveloped among the Bahima.

548 In spite of polygamy and the fact that it is easy to enter into marriage in Ruanda, there is a sort of prostitute. These are widows or older women, as well as girls who have not found a husband. They give themselves in exchange for presents, thereby earning their living. They are called inzorezi. Young men have sexual intercourse with them before marriage. The word is derived from the verb kuzerera, "to run about."

836 Prostitutes and concubines are distinguished from nyamuraza, roving girls who enter into a sort of trial marriage and have intercourse in this way. They hope [226] by this means to persuade a man who would otherwise not have given them any consideration to make the conventional payment and thus make a proper marriage. This attempt may be repeated several times.

586 Divorce. If a man is not satisfied with his wife he may, without further ado, send her back home. If the woman was at fault, if she was unfaithful or sterile, a demand may be made for the return of the payment given for her.

In Mulera the cow which was paid for the woman, as well as all the animal's young, are returned in this type of divorce if the woman has had no children. If the woman has lived for some time with her husband, the cows may be replaced by calves. While I was in Rusa the whole countryside was in a state of excitement over an unusual divorce suit. A man named Lwamakuba paid for his wife with a cow which in the course of time gave his father-in-law ten calves. When the wife grew old, her husband sent her back home indicating that she was sterile. He demanded the return of his payment which had meanwhile increased to a whole herd of cattle. After many negotiations the wife returned with an excellent cow which was supposed to make up for her beauty defects. The husband took his wife back, and the matter was settled. After a time, the wife was sent back again. Five times the woman returned, always with another cow. At the time of my visit the woman was being sent back for the sixth time.

586 However, since this time another cow was denied, the man entered a suit for the return of the illegally retained cow.

If a woman no longer wishes to live with her husband, she 586 first goes back to her parents. She does not have a comfortable 587 existence there, however, for she is regarded solely as a beast of burden and as something unclean besides. Her father, above all, has visions of having to return the payments which he cannot refuse the husband. For this reason the woman usually does not stay long in her parents' home. After a certain time she moves away and settles with a man who does not shy away because of the dispute with her husband and her father. Once the woman has left her proper husband, she does not usually stay long anywhere and travels about according to her moods and the advantages she may gain. Thus a woman may change husbands several times within a few years.

586 In Mulera disputes between man and wife are said to be tried before a specially selected tribunal of older women and men. If public opinion is in favor of the wife who has left, the husband loses his right to be paid and must persuade her to return by offering her gifts. In this case, as a rule, the bribed relatives of the wife become the man's most vehement antagonists, for they do not like to see her wandering about in any case.

[227] The divorced wife retains her personal possessions and the dowry she brought to her husband's house.

578 The vagabond existence of women causes much disorder in 851 the life of small communities. Most quarrels, in Kissaka, for example, arise on account of the children. Here the Muhutu woman does not have a high purchase price, and consequently the children are more important than the wife herself. The children belong to the father's clan. The clan regards the children as reciprocity for the payment received by the wife's parents. If a man has impregnated a woman for whom he has not paid, his right to the child is apparently lost. The woman stays with him, however, and the child, at least as long as it is small, cannot be taken away from the mother. This involves a legal question which the batware [officials] must decide. If the man is powerful and has many followers, the question becomes very complicated. In this

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851 case the conventional decision is hardly feasible, although the child of a woman who has not been paid for does not, it seems, in principle belong to the clan of its father.

586
562 The state cannot force women who have left their husbands to be brought back, and thus a woman has some personal freedom. Also, although the woman does not have a high social standing, she can exercise considerable pressure by threatening to move away. There are many instances that prove these are not empty threats. In spite of the man's privileged position, the woman is mistress of the hut, even when she is occupying it only temporarily, for she nourishes the household with her work in field and garden.

845 Birth. Although all women have a strong desire for children, they are nevertheless very much afraid of childbirth. In Ruanda the number of difficult confinements is not small. They are supposed to occur particularly in the north, in Mulera and Bugoye. In Mulera mothers not infrequently die in childbirth. I was told of confinements that lasted a week. This fact is probably related to the recent mixture of very different anthropological elements, such as those like the Forest Bantu with those like the Batutsi, which may be observed there.

843 The pregnant woman wears the ibiheko amulet to ensure an easy birth. The amulet consists of two small pieces of wood tied together and is worn on the chest. Often a second one is worn on the back. The amulet is not taken off after the birth, but is worn until the child is two or four years old.

843
578 Pregnant women are given some consideration, even when their husbands beat them in a fit of temper. The husband is careful not to hit the woman on the abdomen and usually boxes her ears. If he reaches for a stick in his rage, he beats her only on the shoulders.

844 [228] A birth usually takes place in the hut, in the section occupied by the women (mbele yinzu), but this is not always the case. A soothsayer must decide the place for a favorable birth. If it is to be outside the hut, a place is chosen near the path. It is neatly covered with grass and the woman, accompanied by a midwife, goes there when her labor pains begin. The midwife is said to limit herself to extracting the child. Delivery takes place

844 in a kneeling position. Only women and girls may be present; men are not allowed.

845 If the mother dies during labor in Ussuwi and Bukumbi, a Caesarean operation is performed in order to save the child. It is said that in Kissaka and Mulera people do not dare to perform this operation.

844 After delivery the woman is nourished with a mixture of milk and cow's blood. Later, beer (nzoga) is added to this diet, as well as a mixture of peas and bananas of the nkamba variety.

The navel cord is cut with a reed splinter. On the fourth day,
846 it is said, the navel is finally trimmed. After this the mother
sweeps out the hut and places the rubbish in two baskets (ntaro) which she carries out with the help of her neighbors. The women go in a row, one next to the other, and in this way they accompany the young mother to a previously chosen spot where the contents of the baskets are scattered. After the women return, the husband serves banana beer to the midwife, but before that he performs a libation.

846 On this day the neighbors call and bring presents in honor of
431 the child's birth. The presents consist of food and drink, for ex-
852 ample, bananas, peas, sweet potatoes, beer, and, among the
Batutsi, milk. This ceremony is known as bihembo.

852 In Kissaka the guests kneel in honor of the father. He accepts the honors standing, holding a wooden spear (muko) in his hand and with a sword (ngota) behind his back. He calls upon Binego and Mugasha and expresses his gratitude for the honor by spitting nzoga (banana beer) upon the visitors. If the newborn child is a boy, the father puts a small spear, a small bow, a nail upon which to hang the bow, and a small shield woven of grass into his hand. When he gives the bow to the child, the father spits and says: "akavuna muheto kandi ntaka uvune (if he breaks the bow, may he not break it again)." When he presents the spear, he says: "arakagua mukicho kandi ntaka kigwemo (if he is attacked in ambush, may it not happen again)." When the shield is presented: "kiliho arakagua mungabo kandi ntaka kigwemo (if he should fall upon his shield, may he [229] not fall again)." Finally, turning to the nail on which the bow is to be hung, he says: "arakavuna ingaugo kandi ntaka uvune (if the nail breaks, may it no longer do so later)."

852 If the child is a girl, the mother gives her: lugori, a head band of corn straw which is a symbol of motherhood; luhindu, a needle; and ntamyi, a papyrus thread.

In describing this ceremony, Father P. Schumacher (1) says that the child, be it boy or girl, is also presented with hoes with which invited children cultivate a piece of land one square meter in size at the spot where the child's uncleanliness is buried. This ceremony is called kusohora and takes place on the eighth day after birth. Present at the ceremony are the child and the mother, shaved for the first time since her confinement.

553 The next day the child is given a name. In Kissaka it is said that children are not named until they are three or four months old. The grandfather names the son, and the grandmother names the daughter. At this ceremony the child is laid on the ground before sunrise and called by its name. If a child has not been born
551 within the house, it is given a special name. In that case a boy is called Maira, and a girl, Nanzira. Besides these names, children are given other names, even those of strangers. Some of these are nicknames and often replace the regular names.

We must also mention that everyone has not only his personal name and the name of his clan, but also the name of his umuzimu, that is, of the ancestral spirit which remains in contact with him. I could not find out any details about this. It seems that the name of the spirit to which the child must make offerings and build a spirit hut (ndaro) is used as the child's second name.

Besides these names people also have boastful names. Father Schumacher (2) says: "Every Munyaruanda, or at least every warrior, has a kivugo, that is, a nickname that extols his outstanding characteristics, especially the warlike ones. The byivugo (plural)

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1. Schumacher, Father P., "Die Ehe in Ruanda [Marriage in Ruanda]," Anthropos, 1910, p. 901.

2. Ibid., p. 895.

551 are often so long that they can barely be pronounced in one breath, and yet they are always spoken very fast, in one breath, with a singing intonation and with a dance gesture."

842 —843 164 If a widow gives birth to a child, they say that the child has remained in her blood since the death of her husband and that it has only now come into the world. This belief is related to the idea that pregnancies can last several years, and that idea, in turn, probably comes from the diseases of the genital organs (tumors) that cause enlargement of the abdomen. If [230] a woman can be pregnant for several years, she also can carry the child in her blood for several years.

845 847 Children are ardently desired and loved. In the southeast, in Kissaka, twins are regarded as a blessing; the mother gets twice as many presents and is called nina babili. However, in the northwest, in the Forest Bantu sphere of influence, this is very different. Here infanticide is not uncommon and is practiced particularly on twins. During my visit in Mulera twins were born near the Ruasa Mission. The missionaries had a hard time preventing the people from killing the children. At first the natives replied to the missionaries' explanations that a woman could not possibly carry two children on her back.

853 Children are nursed for a long time, for three years it seems. One sees cases of children who come to their mothers to suck when they are old enough to run about and even to tend cattle.

[854] 861 Little attention is paid to children. This is evident in the high infant mortality. Even less care is given to the moral education of children. Although they are not thrashed like European children, they sometimes suffer severe punishment, especially for theft. A popular punishment is burning the fingers, which is supposed to bring about inhibitory associations when one reaches for other people's belongings. The hands of the little thieves are bound with blades of grass or scraps of matting, which are lighted, and the fingers are covered with burns (1).

1. Classe, Father, Moeurs et Coutumes des Bagoye [Manners and Customs of the Bagoye] (Les Missions Catholiques, 1905), p. 428.

842 It is obvious that if a large number of children brings the father influence and possessions and insures the existence of the whole group, there is no reason for the use of devices which limit the number of children. However, contraceptives are known. Father Schumacher (2) says: "The juice of the *muhoko* bush, mixed with a small amount of water, is taken as a contraceptive; strong doses are taken to commit suicide. As a superstitious but 'infallible' remedy, the mother who wishes to prevent her daughter's disgrace uses the latter's first menstrual blood. She catches this and allows it to dry on any kind of material. She keeps it, or, for example, she may tie the rag on her foot (the numerous *butega* hide it). After this is done, conception is impossible, no matter what the girl manages to do."

847 If a nursing mother becomes pregnant, she has an abortion out of consideration for the child. The operation is performed by a smith and is said to be done mechanically and not with internal remedies.

[231] The same thing happens when an unmarried girl becomes pregnant. If the abortion is unsuccessful and the girl has the child, it is often killed by being allowed to starve.

764 *Death*. If a person dies in a house, the nearest relatives are assembled, and a pole is provided on which the body is tied when it is transported to the grave. The body must not be kept very long in the hut.

The women mourn the deceased, and all clothing, bracelets, and leg rings are removed from the corpse. The body is put in a crouching position with arms and legs bent, rubbed with butter, and wrapped in mats (*virago*) with no gifts added. Moreover, the Batutsi shave the head of the body, but the Bahutu do not do this.

In Kissaka the deceased is either buried in the banana grove or thrown into a papyrus swamp, according to his wishes. In Nduga bodies are usually thrown into the swamps. In places where there are no papyrus swamps, they are covered with a layer of earth. In Mulera it is a common custom to bury the Bahutu. The

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2. Schumacher, Father P., "Die Ehe in Ruanda," *Anthropos*, 1910, p. 894.

764 grave is dug so deep that the gravedigger's head is not visible when he is standing in it. Only those who have been killed are laid to rest in caves. In Bugoye people who have died at home of an illness or of old age are buried near the house. People who have died suddenly or have been killed are simply abandoned or thrown into the bushes. People who have died in an epidemic or of starvation are also abandoned.

The corpses left in swamps are devoured by animals. In contrast to this, care is taken that buried corpses are not dug up, and to prevent this, the grave is covered with banana stalks and thorns.
765 The deceased is mourned for four days. On the fourth day the members of his family remove their bracelets and shave their heads for four moons. If a wife dies, only the girls remove their jewelry; the men merely shave their heads. After four months the masunzu, the shaved patterns, are allowed to grow again.

In Bugoye and Nduga, it is said that a stick (kasongera) is broken above the hut of a woman who has become a widow. This probably symbolizes the absent phallus.

764 The abandonment of the corpse which is customary in Nduga is probably related to the Batutsi element. The Bahutu of Mulera bury their dead, like the Bantu of the neighboring Congo Basin. There is an inexplicable contrast between the neglect of the dead and the death cult. Could this neglect perhaps facilitate the
[115] transformation into an animal? The members of royal families of Ruanda and Urundi are [232] said to turn into leopards after their death, just as the ruling family of Kiziba, like the Masai, turn into snakes.

766 According to Father Van der Burgt (1), the corpse of the king
643

1. Van der Burgt, Father J.M.M., Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi avec l'Indication succincte de la Signification Swahili et Allemande [French-Kirundi Dictionary with short definitions in Swahili and German.] (Bois-le-Duc, Holland, 1903), p. 204.

766 of Urundi is dried and stretched out on a four-legged frame to be
643 worshipped. It is exposed until the frame is eaten by termites
and collapses. Only then is the corpse wrapped up and buried at
[782] the same spot while many human sacrifices are made. The bodies
of Ruanda kings, on the other hand, are dessicated by fire, whereupon the frame on which they lie and the entire hut are reduced to ashes. The death by fire of an entire family in its hut is said to be a favorite method of suicide among the Batutsi.

765 In conclusion we must mention an observation of Dr. Kandt (2):

2. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 476.

"The Wanjaruanda, a tribe living deep in the interior without any contact with Western ideas, say 'ukwirabura (to be black)' when they mean 'to be in mourning.' They say, 'ukwera (to be white)' when they mean 'the period of mourning is past.' This is all the more strange since the two colors in no way appear in dress, decoration, etc., to indicate mourning or the cessation of mourning."

Chapter 11

The Clan

614 Protection of the Individual. The basis of social organization in Ruanda as well as in the other parts of the interlacustrine region is the clan or blood relationship which is here known as umuryango.

The clan represents a society whose membership is replenished
by natural increase, for every child belongs to its father's clan.
As a result, every clan is actually a union of families closely or
distantly related on the male side. Outsiders are admitted to the
clan only in exceptional cases. This happens in Mulera, for example, when a family has only daughters and no sons. Since the
[597] lack of male descendants would weaken the fighting force of the
clan, families adopt sons-in-law as a precaution. In such cases
the children are said to belong to their mother's clan and not to
that of their father who in this way relinquishes the interests of his
relatives.

614 842 Since the groups involved in this arrangement are small and conditions simple and clear, no one can forget that the welfare of the individual is directly dependent on the welfare of the clan. Hence everyone is very much concerned that the clan appear powerful to the outside world. It must be as large as possible and always ready for war. No effort must be spared to achieve this; otherwise the members of the clan have no protection against plunder, impoverishment, and even complete extinction. The man as well as the woman must be considered from this point of view, and producing children is, therefore, the most important duty of the individual. This explains the completely unenviable position of the childless woman. For the same reason, sons whose descendants will augment the number of clan members are preferred to a daughter, even though one can always trade her for a cow.

614 563 The importance of the clan's strength and fighting fitness, even today in Bugoye, was convincingly demonstrated to me by the fate of my Muhutu informant's father. Several years ago their clan was scattered by advancing Batutsi. Only his father remained on the old clan property, along with the [234] children and his uncle. Since there were only a few men in both families and they were too weak to defend themselves, the Batutsi simply settled on the land and indulged in all kinds of suppressive measures against the weaker farmers. At the time of my visit, for example, they took away a whole hut and carried it to their settlement, instead of building a new one for themselves.

614 628 Every individual is under the protection of the clan. This makes it possible for a person to lead a more or less secure existence. Clan organization represents a sort of social guarantee which is directed primarily against the misdeeds of fellow tribesmen who do not belong to the clan.

614 627 Moreover, the clan exercises control over its members, and, if serious offenses are committed by individuals who endanger the interests of the clan, they can even be exiled.

614 627 428 The clan may also interfere in family matters and, above all, in disputes about inheritances. Although the father can dispose of his property as he sees fit, nevertheless his decisions presuppose the tacit approval of the clan. If the interests of the clan are

614 endangered by his plans for dividing his property, for instance,
627 if he impoverishes several of his sons, the clan often steps in,
428 overrides his decision, and apportions his estate in a way that
seems to it more suitable. With the disintegration of the clan
and the increased power of the chief, this power passes to him,
and he has the final word.

614 The rights of the individual are always sacrificed to the
interests of the clan. In Bugoye I even heard that all the clan
423 property is re-apportioned if the fields have become concentrated
in the hands of a minority. This re-apportioning, I was told,
is called kutshura hasi.

At present, under increased taxation and the Batutsi supremacy,
614 it is said that sometimes clan members who cannot pay their
651 taxes are driven out and even replaced by outsiders. The latter
then participate in the tax payments which are made in common.
Such instances are possible, of course, only when clan organization disintegrates.

614 The clan also protects its women. If there are daughters
in a household who have no guardian after the death of their
father, they are taken into their brother's house as paternal aunts.

The protection of female clan members does not extend to
614 their husbands, however. If husbands settle with their wife's clan
591 without being adopted, they are not regarded as equals. This
768 happens primarily when a widow and her children remain with
members of the husband's clan and she takes a man into the house.
The latter can simply be driven out after the woman's death.

671 In Bahutu Ruanda, society does not protect the weak. The
614 [235] individual who is on his own, not protected by any group,
178 is without legal rights and can be oppressed and even slain by anyone. Such attacks are not punished here. In the oppression of the defenseless, they see nothing anti-social since actually it achieves better organization. This is the principal means by which the unyielding masses are united into well-organized groups. Here we cannot fail to recognize the connection between the development of the clan system and the absence of general legal norms. That is why the disintegration of clan organization caused by the Batutsi is accompanied by the establishment of universal norms, despite all the despotism that accompanies conquest. Now the individual

614 671 178 finds protection even outside the clan, which formerly was not possible.

614 Ruanda Clans. We have already listed the clans of Ruanda in Chapter 2 [not translated]. However, in view of the significance which the distribution of individual clans in the various provinces has for the history of Ruanda settlements, the list must be supplemented by further data. Here we shall also give the names of the provinces in which the individual clans were observed. (Chart on following pages)

It is said that the Baanzira clan is not represented in Kissaka, but the name is familiar, and strangely enough, it is used by the women in vows. When they wish to affirm something very positively, they say: "Aha Baanzira batshu."

Father Schumacher (1) uses the designation "Base" or "Abase" for the Bagessera and Bazigaba who play a special role in the Ryangombe cult.

628 614 [237] Blood Revenge. Clans practice blood vengeance (kuhora) for their members. If an outsider kills or wounds a clan member, his fellow members take revenge on the members of the criminal's clan.

The clan's revenge, however, is not always a simple settlement on the principle of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. In Kissaka, for example, the people are satisfied if they kill a member of the murderer's clan, whereas in Mulera the vengeance is always greater than the crime. The severity of the vengeance by the injured clan depends on the number of its able-bodied men. The powerful and spirited clan of the Barashi who are settled in Mulera on Muhawura is aware of its strength and takes bitter revenge. For a murdered clansman, the Barashi kill six to eight men from the murderer's clan. The other less powerful Mulera clans content themselves with three or four. The Batutsi, on the other hand, demand as many as ten to twelve heads. The same number is exacted by the greatly feared Batwa clans.

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1. Schumacher, Father P., "Die Ehe in Ruanda," Anthropos, 1910, p. 896.

Abaziru	Northeast Ruanda	Kissaka	Nduga	Mulera	Bugoye	Bgisha	Comments
....	....	....	....	....	....	Baasigu 1)	–
....	....	....	....	....	Babadji 1)	....	–
....	Babanda 2)	....	Babandi 1)2)3)	....	....	....	–
....	Babusi 1)	....	....	....	....	....	–
....	....	....	....	....	Babwari 1)	....	from Ndorwa
Rugumvu, chameleon	....	....	....	....	Bachacha 1)	....	branch of Baloye
Rutoni, weasel	....	....	....	Bachakohogo 1)	....	....	branch of Baloye
....	....	....	Batsiaba 3)	Bachaba 1)3)	....	....	–
....	....	....	....	Badahe 1)	Badoha 1)	....	branch of Basinga
....	....	....	....	....	....	Badjadja 1)	–
....	Badogo 2)	....	....	....	....	....	–
....	....	Bega 2)	Bega 1)2)3)	....	....	....	–
....	....	....	....	....	....	Bagaba 1)	–
....	Bagai 1)2)	Bagahe 1)2)	Bagai 3)	Bagai 3)	Bagai	Bagai 1)	–
Infundi, small red bird	....	....	....	Bagaya 1)	....	....	–
....	....	....	....	Bagambira 1)	....	....	–
....	....	....	....	....	Bagara 1)	Bagara 1)	branch of Batsiaba
....	....	....	....	....	....	Bageni	–

1) Bahutu-Clan 2) Batutsi-Clan 3) Batwa-Clan

(continued)

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Abaziru	Northeast Ruanda	Kissaka	Nduga	Mulera	Bugoye	Bgisha	Comments
Niamanza, wagtail	Bagessera 1)	....	Bagessera 1)2)3)	Bagessera 1)3)	Bagessera 1)3)	Bagessera	branch of Batsiaba
....	Bagiri 1)	....	....	....	....	....	–
....	....	....	....	Bagirima 1)	....	....	branch of Basinga
....	....	....	Bagoboko 1)	....	....	....	=
Ingwe, leopard	....	....	....	....	Bagwabiro 2)	....	–
....	....	....	....	Bahachi 1)	....	....	–
....	....	....	Bahungura 3)	Bahangura 1)	Bahangara 1)	Bakungura 1)	–
....	....	....	....	....	Bahanuka	....	–
....	....	....	Bahene 1)	....	....	....	branch of Batsiaba
Infundi, small red bird......	Bahigo 2)	....	Bahigo 2)	....	Bahigo 1)	....	–
....	....	....	....	....	....	Bahinga 1)	–
Rutoni, Weasel	....	....	....	Bahoma 1)	Bahoma 1)	Bahoma 1)	–
....	....	....	....	Bahotso 1)	....	....	–
Niamanza, Bachstelze	....	....	....	....	Bahuma 1)	....	–
....	....	....	....	....	....	Bahumba 1)	–
....	....	....	....	....	Bahunde 1)	....	–
....	....	....	....	Bahungudu	....	....	–
....	Bahuzi 1)	....	....	....	....	....	–
....	....	....	....	Baichozi 1)	Baichozi 1)	....	–

1) Bahutu-Clan 2) Batutsi-Clan 3) Batwa-Clan

(continued)

Abaziru	Northeast Ruanda	Kissaka	Nduga	Mulera	Bugoye	Bgisha	Comments
....	....	....	....	**Bairuntu 1)**	....	....	–
....	....	....	....	....	....	**Baisha 1)**	–
....	....	....	....	**Baishaza 1)**	**Baishaza**	....	–
....	**Baitera 2)**	....	....	....	....	....	–
....	....	**Bakango 1)**	....	**Bakango 1)**	....	....	–
....	....	....	....	....	....	**Bakanyara 1)**	–
....	....	....	....	....	**Bakara 1)**	....	–
....	**Bakiaba 1)**	....	....	....	....	....	–
....	....	....	....	**Bakima 1)**	**Bakima 1)**	....	–
....	**Bakimbiri 1)**	....	....	....	....	....	–
....	....	....	**Bakobga 2)**	....	....	....	–
....	**Bakono 2)**	....	**Bakono 2)**	**Bakono 2)**	....	**Bakono 1)**	–
Rugumvu, chameleon	....	....	....	....	**Bakora 1)**	....	–
....	**Bakumangari 1)**	....	....	....	....	....	–
....	....	....	....	**Bakundi 1)**	....	....	–
....	....	....	....	....	....	**Bakungura**	–
....	....	....	....	....	**Bakwa 1)**	....	–
....	....	....	....	**Balesi 1)**	....	....	–
....	....	....	....	**Balihira 1)**	**Balihira 1)**	**Balihira 1)**	–
....	....	....	....	....	**Baloye 1)**	....	–
....	....	....	....	....	**Balyolyo 1)**	....	branch of Bahoma
....	....	....	....	....	**Bambari 1)**	....	–
....	....	....	**Banegitore 1)**	....	....	....	–

1) Bahutu-Clan **2) Batutsi-Clan** **3) Batwa-Clan**

(continued)

Abaziru	Northeast Ruanda	Kissaka	Nduga	Mulera	Bugoye	Bgisha	Comments
....	....	....	....	Bangona 1)	....	....	branch of Basinga called Raven
....	....	....	....	Bangoto 1)	....	....	–
....	....	....	Bangura 1)	Bangula 1)	....	....	–
....	....	....	Banie-ginia 1)2)3)	....	....	....	–
....	....	....	Banyabeneki 3)	....	....	....	–
....	....	....	....	....	Banyabgisha 1)	....	–
....	....	....	....	....	....	Banyabgoye 1)	–
....	....	....	Banyabyinshi 3)	....	....	....	–
....	....	....	Banyakarama 2)	....	....	....	–
....	....	....	....	....	Banyambo 1)	Banyambo 1)	–
....	....	....	....	Barashi 1)	....	....	–
....	....	....	....	....	....	Baruru 1)	–
....	....	....	....	Basale 1)	....	....	–
....	....	....	....	Basezera 1)	....	....	branch of Basinga
Impereri, rock badger	....	....	....	....	Bashama 1)	....	–
....	Bashambo 2)	Bashambo 2)	Bashambo 2)	....	....	....	–
....	....	....	....	....	Bashobio 1)	....	–
Niamanza, wagtail	....	....	....	Bashoke 1)	....	....	branch of Bahoma

1) Bahutu-Clan 2) Batutsi-Clan 3) Batwa-Clan (continued)

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Abaziru	Northeast Ruanda	Kissaka	Nduga	Mulera	Bugoye	Bgisha	Comments
Liver........	....	....	....	....	Basigali 1)	....	–
....	....	....	....	Basigi 1)	....	Basigi 1)	–
nda[1], antelope	....	....	Basindi 1)3)	Basindi 1)3)	Basindi 1)	Basindi 1)	–
Ntere, black cow with white stripes	Basinga 1)2)3)	Basinga 1)	Basinga 1)2)	Basinga 1)3)	Basinga 1)	Basinga 1)	–
....	....	Basita 1)	Basita 2)1)	....	....	....	–
....	....	....	....	....	....	Basubahu 1)	–
....	....	....	Basungu 2)	....	....	....	–
....	....	....	Baswaga 2)	....	....	....	–
....	Basweri 1)	....	Baswera 1)3)	Baswera 1)	....	....	–
....	....	....	....	....	....	Batekamogi	–
Ntama, sheep	....	....	....	....	Batembe 1)	....	–
....	....	....	....	Batita 1)	....	....	branch of Bahoma
....	....	....	....	....	Batogi 1)	....	–
....	....	Batsiaba 1)	Batsiaba 1)	Batsiaba 1)	....	....	in Mulera the branches Bagara and Behene
....	....	....	....	Batsilege 1)	....	....	

1) Bahutu-Clan

2) Batutsi-Clan

3) Batwa-Clan

(continued)

[1] [Probably should read Inganda; cf. text page 159, line 24.-Analyst]

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Abaziru	Northeast Ruanda	Kissaka	Nduga	Mulera	Bugoye	Bgisha	Comments
....	....	....	Batsove 1)	Batsove 1)	....	....	–
....	....	....	Batwa 2)	....	....	Batundu 1)	–
....	....	....	....	....	Bavuna 1)	....	–
....	....	....	....	....	Bayovu 1)	....	–
....	....	....	....	Bayumbo 1)	....	....	branch of Basinga
....	....	....	....	....	....	Bayungo 1)	–
Amara, entrails of every animal	Bazigaba 1)	Bazigaba 1)	Bazigaba 1)2)3)	Bazigaba 1)3)	....	....	–
Rutoni, weasel	....	....	....	....	Bazogera 1)	....	–

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1) Bahutu-Clan 2) Batutsi-Clan 3) Batwa-Clan

6: Czekanowski--154 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42
[236]

614 628 In Mulera, in contrast to Kissaka, the female members of the clan are also avenged, but in Ruanda I heard nothing about women being killed in revenge.

[765] The clan which has avenged its dead casts off mourning and celebrates the happy event with dancing and beer drinking. This announces to the others that they have nothing more to fear.

In exacting vengeance, the injured clan is primarily bent on laying its hands on members of the criminal's clan, but the murderer himself also receives special attention.

During my stay in Mulera a man with a pot of beer on his head went to a neighboring settlement. On the way he met a stranger who expressed the wish to taste his beer. When the man refused, the stranger retaliated by stabbing him in the back. The wounded man fell to the ground and began to scream. The stranger fled, but the injured man's clansmen pursued him, inflicted arm and head wounds with a bush knife, bound him, and brought him to their settlement. There he had to await the outcome of his victim's illness, and if the man had died, he would have had to pay with his life for his fit of temper.

Revenge is the factor that most strongly binds the clan together and contributes most to the development of a feeling of solidarity among clan members.

A clan that refused to take revenge would become extinct in a short time, since neighbors could plunder its members without punishment.

[238] The practice of blood revenge in Ruanda and, above all, in Nduga where clan members are scattered among outsiders takes the form of secret, occasional murders. In the northwest, for example, in Itambi where clans have settled in larger units, revenge is said to take on the nature of a regular war. This difference is decidedly an adjustment of the same institution to the particular conditions prevailing in the two regions.

Unsettled and pending cases of revenge constitute an ever-present danger for the clan members, and at the same time they involve many unexpected and unpleasant situations. The clans are settled in different places far apart from one another, and the individual member is not always informed about the relation of his clan to others in distant regions. For this reason the Munyaruanda

614 628 keeps his clan a secret and discloses it only when he has confidence in his questioner. That is why it was so difficult at first to find out the names of the clans, especially before we learned the word for clan, namely, *umuryangu* or *umuliangu.*

For its own safety, the clan is forced to watch over its members and, in case of an emergency, oust certain individuals whose actions endanger the community. This applies chiefly to those who, through careless murder, burden their clan with the revenge of the injured. The banished member loses the right of protection and property and will not be avenged. This expulsion is called *kilenga ngoma* and seems to occur more frequently than adoption.

These imperfect security measures aimed at guaranteeing the safety of the individual cause eternal petty wars. The whole society is split up into a number of warring camps, which weakens its resistance against outside enemies. This applies primarily to the Bahutu, and this will be one of the chief reasons why the better organized herdsmen minority will be able to conquer them.

Clan feuds are by no means limited to the Bahutu. My anthropological studies among the Batwa in the region around Marangara were very much curtailed because a few days before, during an evening of beer drinking, a drunken man committed a murder. The murderer and his clansmen were obliged to leave the region of Marangara in great haste.

614 262 *Abaziru.* Although blood revenge unites the clan more conspicuously than any other factor, nevertheless in peaceful times one is only occasionally aware of the sharp demarcation of clans. [239] In quiet everyday life the clans are differentiated much more by their food taboos. The adult members of individual clans are forbidden to eat certain foods. For example, the Bagessera and Bashambo, like some Massai tribes, do not eat liver; the Bagahe and Bazigaba do not eat entrails, etc. Each clan may have more than one food taboo. Thus, the Bashambo, for example, eat neither liver nor the meat of foreign spotted cows.

The members of different clans may not eat together because of their dietary laws. Consequently, they also regard each other

614 as unclean and detest being in close contact with each other,
262 chiefly because it disgusts them.

Besides the food taboos of individual clans, referred to [in the table] on pages 149 through 154 as abaziru, there are also general food taboos practiced by larger groups of clans, which even separate different clements of the population from one another. These more universal taboos are added to those of individual clans.

563 The Bahutu cannot eat with the Batwa because the latter do
262 not respect any taboos and even eat chickens and eggs. The
178 Mututsi, in turn, may not eat with the Bahutu because the latter
eat the meat of goats and sheep. This taboo, it seems, is on the decline. The taboo on goat's meat is no longer strictly adhered to. The following explanation is given. The present ruler, Juhi Musinga, was ousted by his father, Lwabugiri, when he was a child and was reared by a Muhutu. In the house of this man he became accustomed to eating goat's meat, and so he has revoked the restriction. The situation is a little different with regard to mutton. The Bahutu of Mulera eat it, whereas the Bahutu of the south do so only secretly, if at all, perhaps because they have been affected by the more influential Batutsi and deny themselves mutton so as not to be regarded as unclean.

262 The most disgusting food for the Batutsi and Bahutu, as well
609 as for all the other inhabitants of the interlacustrine region with the
exception of the Batwa, is chicken and, above all, eggs. For this reason Europeans and their black personnel, who in this respect resemble Batwa, are despised. Our Banyaruanda porters refused not only to eat with the Wassukuma porters, but also to use the pots which were put at their disposal. Concerning this taboo, the
[171] Batutsi and Bahutu are similar to the Galla, Somal, Wakamba [Kamba], Wataita [Teita], Wakikuyu [Kikuyu], and Wadjagga, that is to say, the Hamites and the Bantu who were metamorphosed by them. (1)

1. Hildebrandt, J.M., "Ethnographische Notizen über Wakamba und ihre Nachbarn [Ethnographic Notes on the Wakamba and their

262 Neighbors]," *Zeitschrift für*
609 *Ethnologie*, 1878, p. 378.

[240] The less universal food taboos involving only a few
614 clans can probably be regarded as traces of older, larger clan
262 groups which later became differentiated and divided into subgroups that were not always aware of their connection. This process is still going on. The Mulera clans of Bangona, Besezera, Bagirima, Bayumbo, and Badahe are said to be subgroups of the Basinga clan. In view of this, we can expect that further research on food taboos will enable us to trace more closely the process of differentiation among the various clans.

262 Children are not affected by food taboos, but this is by no
858 means the case with women. They are also bound by special obligations in this respect. For example, the Bahutu women of
562 Kissaka and Mulera may not eat goat's meat, although the men are permitted to do so.

262 The food taboos which play such an important role in the
614 life of Ruanda are, however, only one form of the general taboos,
784 *abaziru* (singular, *umuziru*), imposed on individual clans.

The *umuziru* of the Basinga clan is a black cow striped with white. The members of this clan do not drink the milk from such cows, nor do they eat the meat. They are very much afraid of soiling themselves with cow dung because it might come from such a cow. They buy butter in the market, however, when they are not absolutely certain whether or not it comes from such cows. Since cows of this type have no economic value for them, they always try to sell them and to replace them with other kinds.

This example shows that it is not enough to refrain from eating the meat of an *umuziru*. They must avoid any kind of contact with it. They have a certain regard, however, for economic interests. The useless *umuziru* cow is sold, and they are more afraid of its excrement than of its butter, which they use when they are not altogether certain of its origin.

614 The concept *umuziru* embraces all the phenomena that are
784 taboo for a clan. They are not actually sacred, for the element of reverence is lacking. In the case of domestic animals, the natives try to sell the economically useless *abaziru* to outsiders.

614 Nevertheless, the individual's freedom of action with regard
784 to his *umuziru* is limited. For this reason one is closer to the
actual meaning of the word when one translates it as "prohibition."

I was told that the following were *abaziru*: mammals, the various parts of their bodies, birds, fish, grasshoppers, the milk of particular cows, and inanimate objects, such as an empty basket, for example, but not plants, with the exception of a blade of straw.

784 [241] The meaning of *abaziru* involves the vague idea that
775 after death everyone takes the form of an *umuziru*. For example,
614 they believe that the clansmen of the ruler of Kiziba turn into
snakes, the family of the kings of Ruanda into leopards, and various Azande clans into all kinds of animals.

I had no opportunity to find out the derivation of *abaziru*, not even in cases where the transformation into animals after death was positively maintained. Thus, we can hardly link the various prohibitions with remnants of these ideas.

On the other hand, I learned about traditions which make
784 it seem likely that the prohibitions arose from experiences of
614 clan members or their protoplasts. Thus, in Kifumbiro I was told
that one of the clans there (the Abazirambogo) does not eat buffalo meat because one of its ancestors was killed on a buffalo hunt many, many years ago.

The prohibition on wearing the skin of the *inganda*, antelope, shows how the taboos of a single clan spread to larger groups, even to a whole country. *Inganda* is an *umuziru* of the Basindi clan. Its members were not permitted to hunt the animal, eat its meat, or use its skin for clothing. Two wives of a king of Ruanda once quarreled over this beautiful skin, and one stabbed the other with a knife. Thereupon the wise king, in order to eliminate discord from the world once and for all, declared the animal to be an *umuziru* for the entire country. This has also been the case with dogs, monkeys, and birds.

The Banyaruanda, who generally like to dismiss a questioner with the phrase, "our fathers did it this way," cite traditions about the origin of their taboos, and this we can regard as an argument in favor of the view that the taboos developed along with clan organization.

714 628 614 It is said that atonement for killing an umuziru is made by special ceremonies, and the willful slaying of an umuziru by an outsider can even call forth revenge on the part of the clan.

614 582 Marriage Prohibitions. Clan organization also affects the individual in the matter of marriage prohibitions. Members of the same clan may not marry each other. The clan is strictly exogamous. It seems, however, that among the Batutsi there are still traces of an earlier endogamy. For example, in their legend about Kigwa, the first ruler of Ruanda, they say that all Batutsi are descendants of a sister and brother, Nyina Batutsi and Kigwa.

614 581 [242] Exogamy in Ruanda is an important factor in social integration. In Mulera, where the old clan organization has been best preserved, the act of contracting marriage consists of the exchange of a woman for a cow. Thus, two different clans come to have a common interest. One clan is helped by a direct increase of its man power. The other, in turn, strives to increase its wealth and possessions. This union, furthermore, necessitates mutual consideration in other matters and thus promotes the social life of larger groups of people.

563 582 614 In contrast to the exogamy of individual clans, there is an absence of valid mixed marriages between Batutsi, Bahutu, and Batwa. The social and anthropological contrast between these elements of the population is much sharper and more striking than the contrast between Bahima and Bahiru in the Runyoro language area, and since there one can distinguish between Bahima and Bahiru clans, it is all the more surprising that there are Bahutu in most of the clans of Ruanda. Upon investigation we found that in many cases Batutsi and Bahutu had the same clan names, and in less than half the cases observed could we find special Batutsi clans which did not have Bahutu members.

The appearance of Batutsi clan names among the Bahutu can probably be traced to the following two reasons. First, the descendants of slaves, of baja, belong to their father's clan, but, in spite of Batutsi fathers, they are no longer counted among the Batutsi. Thus, there are Bahutu families that trace their origin to Ruanda rulers. Secondly, impoverished Batutsi marry Bahutu women, which rapidly adds to the number of impoverished Bahutu, 563 582 614 even though a child of a Mututsi by his legal Muhutu wife is *de jure* a Mututsi. Such children are, however, because of their mothers, robbed of all such connections, and this accelerates their absorption by the Bahutu.

Similarly, however, there are cases where prominent Bahutu, if they occupy the position of chief, are absorbed into the Batutsi through mixed marriages. This was the case, for example, with the Barashi chief, Lukara lwa Bishingwe, from the Muhawura volcano. This probably explains how "Batutsi" happen to belong to the clans of Bazigaba, Basinga, Bagessera, and Basita.

Mixed marriages between Batutsi men and Bahutu women are more common than those between Bahutu men and Batutsi women. There are said to be no mixed marriages with Batwa. This aversion [797] persists even in Christian communities, and I even heard that the only baptized Mutwa in a Christian congregation could not find a wife.

572 608 [243] *Blood Brotherhood*. In speaking of exogamy, we mentioned it as the primary factor in the social integration of a society that is split up by mutually warring clans. We shall now discuss the second factor, namely, the institution of blood brotherhood.

In Mulera, if you wish to show someone that you value his friendship, you go to him to replenish your fire. To make the friendship secure, however, you must join with him in the pact of blood brotherhood (*kunywana*).

Simple friendship is very sharply distinguished in Ruanda from the social institution of blood brotherhood. The word for friendship is *kwuzulu* which literally means "filled" or "full." People are regarded as friends who "are saturated with one another," and who must therefore be considerate of each other.

There are friends on all levels of the social system, but it 572 608 628 seems that the institution of blood brotherhood in Ruanda is connected with the undifferentiated clan organization of the north. This is doubtless due to the fact that in regions like Nduga, for example, where the chief's power is well organized, the individual can count on a certain measure of protection from the representatives of the state, but in regions where the entire country

572 is divided into zones settled by different clans which are often
608 hostile to each other, the individual can depend only on his
628 clansmen. When he goes abroad, outside his clan's sphere of influence, he must look for personal friends and secure their pledge of protection, thus making possible his sojourn in strange parts of the land. This is the reason why traders enter into the greatest number of brotherhood pacts. People who never leave their hillsides do not make this pact, and pacts between the inhabitants of the same hillside also are not common.

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608 Brotherhood is sealed by special ceremonies. On the day of the pact the one who wants to enter into brotherhood goes to the house of his future blood brother, accompanied by a witness. He is received there also in the presence of a witness. All four men sit down on a mat on the hut floor. The articles necessary for the ceremony are placed beside them: mutsima, stiff millet mush; a knife; and a hoe.

The witness of the guest takes the knife and makes a scratch to the right of the latter's navel. He catches the blood on a piece of mutsima and hands the knife to the witness of the houseowner, who repeats the same ceremony with his candidate. The two blood brothers then eat each other's blood along with the mutsima. Then the first witness takes the knife, begins to sharpen it on his skin, and says:

[244] Mwumwe! Ntuza yaniwanye na ntuza.
Harken! This one enters into blood brotherhood with that one.

Eimwa kanaka uramuka umutatiye iki kihanga kikakwicha.
Hear you (this one), if you dare betray him, this vow will kill you.

Akomerekera mw' itawalo wanga kumuheka, iki kihanga kikakwicha.
If he is wounded in battle, you refuse to carry (him), this vow will kill you.
Umushigisha amata iwawe, iki kihanga kikakwicha.
Refuse you him milk yours, this vow will kill you.

Wanga kumuheka, yarwaliye mw' itawalo, iki kihanga kikakwicha.
Refuse you to carry, when he falls in battle, this vow will kill you.

572 Umugore wawe amushigisha nzoga uta hali, iki kihanga utikikwiche.
608 (If) woman yours will refuse him banana beer (when) you are absent, this vow will not kill you.

After this curse he hands the knife to the second witness who rubs the iron against the palm of his hand and repeats the curse. Then the two witnesses rise, lift their bent arms to the level of their eyes, and then slap their knees with the words: "Ndateranya sinkiza (I unite, I protect not)." In reply the two blood brothers lie down on the floor and embrace. Then they are covered with a mat, whereupon one of the witnesses hits the mat twice with a stick and says: "Ndateranya, sinkiza, zubanda (I unite, I protect not, rabble)." The blood brothers reply to this by hitting each other. Later, assisting one another, they rise to a crouching position. This ceremony means that blood brothers also fight with one another, but this is their own affair which they must settle among themselves in secret (under the mat). In the outside world blood brothers may only support one another.

572 608 431 After this ceremony they exchange presents. One of the blood brothers takes his present, usually a hoe, and hands it to his new friend with the words: "End'isuka, nkukye ku kirago (accept the hoe, may it help you to rise from the mat)." The other takes his present, hands it to the first one, and repeats the same words. Then they both arise, and each one gives his witness an arm ring as a present.

572 608 614 628 Through this ceremony the blood brother (munywana) seems to attain a sort of personal membership in the clan of the other blood brother without resigning from his own clan. This is confirmed by the fact that blood brotherhood is not entered into by members of the same clan. I occasionally heard that formerly, in the indeterminable "olden times," blood revenge was practiced for blood brothers as it was for clansmen.

572 608 614 178 It seems that blood brotherhood has lost a great deal of its significance. This may be considered a result of state organization which has caused a progressive deterioration of clan organization. This process, however, has not just come about in very recent times, as may be gathered from a proverb in Ruanda which [245] says: "umwuzulu uluta umunywano (friendship is better than blood brotherhood)." In Ruanda we may mention two facts in favor

572 of the view that blood brotherhood is connected with the Bantu
608 substratum or at least with clan organization: the use of banana
614 beer and hoe-money in the ceremony; and the relationship be-
178 tween blood brotherhood and the system of marriage prohibitions.

In the cults associated solely with the Batutsi, only millet
572 beer seems to be used. Here we have banana beer mentioned
608 in the curse formula which is undoubtedly very old. It is very
strange, however, that milk is also mentioned along with beer.
The latter fact warns us to be cautious.

Much more important, on the other hand, is the marriage
572 prohibition which even at the present time is scrupulously ob-
608 served. The children of blood brothers regard themselves as re-
582 lated. This relationship is called *bapfasoni*. The statement that
the marriage prohibition also applies to other relatives of the father's
blood brother was not emphatically denied, but it seems to me most
unlikely. I was also unable to find out whether a man may marry
women from the clan of his blood brother.

According to several reports, sexual intercourse with the
572 wife of a blood brother is regarded as a great insult, but other
608 reports have it that the women are at the disposal of visiting blood
837 brothers. (1) This point could not be fully cleared up because, among the Batutsi, friends are quite commonly in the habit of entertaining one another with their wives.

572 Batutsi and Bahutu enter into blood brotherhood with one
608 another. Neither of them, however, enters such a pact with the
563 Batwa.

The Clan Community. The political significance of the clan
614 varies greatly in different parts of Ruanda. The clan is prominent
621 in areas where the Batutsi state has not yet been firmly established,
as, for instance, in Bugoye and above all in Mulera. In Nduga,
on the other hand, clans have little political significance. This
significance is in direct proportion to the degree of concentration
of clan members in a territory.

1. Kandt, R., *Caput Nili* (Berlin, 1904), p. 177.

614 621 In the north the members of individual clans have large areas wholly to themselves. In view of the not very strictly organized political situation, these autonomous territorial communities can sometimes play a very important role because of their solidarity and their often rather large numbers. In Nduga, on the other hand, the power of the state has broken up the clans, scattered them, and robbed them of any possibility of forming political or territorial clan unions. The representatives [246] of the various warring factions were incorporated into territorial groups and placed under chiefs appointed by the state. If you travel from Mulera to Nduga via Bugoye, you can observe the successive phases in this process of the formation of a state. You see how the independent, undifferentiated clans are first drawn into all kinds of dependent relationships and are then gradually absorbed.

In taking possession of Bugoye, members of the same clans have settled in various places. As a result, the whole country represents a mosaic of properties occupied by different members of the same clans who are physically separated from one another, yet still aware of their historical connection. This is most clearly evident in the institution of blood revenge, as well as in the prohibitions regarding food and marriage. This awareness, however, is not sufficient to bring about the formation of larger, independent, well-disciplined political unions. Every individual settlement is an entirely independent community with its own elder at the head.

614 622 In clan communities that have been unaffected by conquest, the head of the community has little authority. He represents the clan community in external affairs and settles internal disputes. The latter are one of the most important reasons why clan members emigrate. The headman is known as mugabo, and his position is hereditary, usually devolving upon the eldest son. In the list given below, the bagabo are given first place.

After the subjugation of clan communities by outside conquerors, the mugabo occupies a special place. His duty is to collect taxes and to deliver them to the official commissioned by the king. However, this official position gives him a certain

622 influence which can increase along with that of the outside con-
614 querors, especially if he knows how to make himself useful to them. Since the privilege of collecting taxes is hereditary, it bears a seed that can grow to the level of a regular high chief, as was demonstrated in the case of the Muhutu, Lukara lwa Bishingwe, who became known even in Europe for the murder of the missionary, Father Paul Loupias.

The leadership of the Barashi under Lukara lwa Bishingwe is an example of a clan whose elder, through the influence of the Batutsi, was elevated to chief according to the concepts of the conquerors. This development has not, however, come to an end. The entire process is too new, too little strengthened by tradition.

The privileged position of the Barashi clan elder goes back only two generations. Lukara's father, Bishingwe, was a very skillful hunter and [247] knew how to use a Batwa group for his ends. He knew how to furnish Lwabugiri, the king of Ruanda and father of Musinga, with plenty of ivory, and the king rewarded him for it. The king treated him as his immediate vassal (mugaragu) and made him chief over his own clan, in which he is said to have formerly held the position of mugabo.

622 The promotion of the powerless clan elder to chief was not
614 recognized by the clan members, and among them Lukara had
578 little power, according to my observations at the time of my journey. He tried to remedy this disadvantage by attracting exiled riffraff and foreign elements from dispersed clans and settling them on free land. He selected his followers from among this unorganized group who, as strangers, were at the mercy of everyone and could expect protection only from Lukara. With them he held his fellow clansmen in check. The latter, however, in their hatred, drove the outsiders to Lukara, and in this way there arose that compact, strictly organized structure which made Lukara so dangerous to his opponents. The Mututsi, Luhanga, his chief opponent, did not have such a well-disciplined following.

I had an opportunity, on the basis of a minor incident, to observe how great the constant internal friction of this social structure must be. I requested Lukara to have water fetched for my men. After negotiations that lasted almost two hours, Lukara announced that he was willing to do this and told his men who were assembled

622 in the courtyard to fetch water. No one was in a hurry to make
614 the half an hour trip to the water hole. Lukara grew angry at
578 this delay, seized a few people by their hands, and pushed them aside to have them get the water. One of them rebuffed Lukara with the words, "I am no Murashi," and would not let himself be singled out. Lukara began to scold and asked the name of the man's father, but did not molest him further. The water had to be fetched by newcomers. Lukara has allowed these newcomers to settle, and therefore he can, of course, also drive them out again. He cannot treat his fellow tribesmen so arbitrarily.

In spite of the friction between the clan elder and the clan members, the Barashi support Lukara. They know that his downfall will mean their subjugation to outsiders. That is why Lukara is so strong in the face of his opponents, even though he has not as many men to put into the field. His Batutsi opponents must depend on Bahutu who have no such interest in Batutsi successes.

Lukara, whose father became a mugaragu only through the demagogic Lwabugiri, now passes himself off as a Mututsi. His men, too, say that he is a Mututsi. His fellow clansmen, however, merely say [248] that whenever he can, he tries to oppress his own people with newcomers, as an outsider, a Mututsi, would do.

In this manner the peasant aristocracy made up of clan elders merges with the Batutsi. We are, therefore, justified in asking outselves whether this gradual rise to nobility, sealed by the forgetting of ones origins is not the chief reason why Bahutu clan names occur among the Batutsi.

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621 The size of the autonomous clan communities, which roughly correspond to our villages, varies a great deal. In many cases they have a population of about 100, while some have a few thousand inhabitants. In the Barashi territory, for example, there are 6,000 to 8,000 people. The fertile area is bounded on the north by primeval forests covering the volcanoes, on the east by Lake Bolero, and on the south by the lava steppes. The population was pushed out of the lava plain by the Barashi. The Batwa, however, remained on Muhawura.

As we have seen, the population of these communities does not consist entirely of clan members. There are also outsiders who

621 614 settle among the clan members as clients (bagaragu) who perform services for them for which they get their food and from time to time a sheep or goat. They are poor devils who in this way must scrape together the means to buy a wife. There are others in the densely populated areas where there is no free land who rent acreage and even own houses on rented land. Others rent only as much land as is necessary for their hut and a small courtyard, and they make their living as day laborers.

We must point out that settling on the land of a strange clan presupposes a certain calm and stability and signalizes the impending deterioration of the clan community. Under more primitive conditions where clan organization is at its height, we seldom find cases of people settling on the land of a strange clan. Life among strangers would be too dangerous because feuds involving blood revenge might break out. There is no security against feuds between the clan of the host and that of the settler, and then the isolated person is the first victim because one can most easily get at him.

614 423 Property. The clans of Bugoye and Mulera occupy regions which were taken over and cleared by their ancestors several generations ago.

In Ruanda the clearing of the primeval forest plays a very important role in the conception of ownership. In Bugoye, despite the recent Batutsi conquest, land is regarded as the property of those whose ancestors [249] took possession of and cleared the corresponding sections of primeval forest. This comes out in legal cases involving property, when they cite as a witness the stone on which the bush knife (muhoro) was sharpened when the land under dispute was cleared. The party claiming the land says: "I shall bring the whetstone (uzakuha ulutsiaga) that my ancestor used when he cleared this piece." In view of this, the clan members may also be regarded as the owners of the land occupied by them.

[422] However, although the huts, the animals, and all the furnishings are absolutely private possessions which one can dispose of as he sees fit, the possession of land is not entirely free of restrictions. The clan members really have only the use of the common property given them. The land, like its possessor, is the property of

614 623 the clan and can be disposed of only after the common interest has been considerable. These are the conditions that exist where the clans have not been subjugated and dispossessed by their conquerors.

[643] As a result of conquest, the land falls into the possession of the king and is granted to the subjects in his name by the chief he has appointed. Under such conditions, there can be no question of voluntary disposal of this land.

556 231 The wealth of the individual is not measured by the size of the fields he lays claim to, but solely by the number of cattle he owns. With a largely undifferentiated social organization and poor communication routes, the free sale of field products is slight. These products must serve almost exclusively to satisfy the needs of the producer. Moreover, in many parts of Ruanda there is still such a reserve of free land that its value is relatively low, and the monopolizing of this form of property by the privileged class becomes only a secondary means of social discipline.

Power can be much more easily exercised in Ruanda by a monopoly of cattle ownership. That is why the Batutsi are trying to get the ownership of cattle wholly in their hands and make individuals subservient to them by granting them cows and permitting them to share the milk.

Following this principle of rule which is most natural for herdsmen, the Batutsi, when they conquered Bugoye, punished the farmers only slightly; the clans were merely taxed. The Mugoye, however, must drive his cows into the woods and have them tended there when they no longer give milk and the household can do without them. Although the cow [250] could be pastured near his dwelling, he would rather take the risk of having the herder run off with his property than arouse the greed of the mighty, since this might lead to expropriation.

614 621 592 In conclusion we shall give some data about the property and the members of the three clan communities of Baishaza, Bahoma, and Bagwabiro, who live on the hills of Katebe and Kitebe near Nyundo. I obtained these figures by actual count in the field.

423 231 [251] This brief compilation gives us a good idea of how the clan communities are constructed and what they own. In this list only heads of families were consecutively numbered; their

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No	Name	Clan	Clan Members	Sons	Married Daughters	Unmarried Daughters	Wives	Bagaragu	Cows	Goats	Sheep	Fields	Banana Groves	
			Baishaza of Katebe											
1.	Ndiramiye	Mwishaza	1	—	2	—	1	—	1/8	—	—	2	—	„mugabo“
	Nikora	„	1	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Sebisogo	Muzogera	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
2.	Seramunda	Mwishaza	1	4	—	1	2	—	3 4/8	5	2	3	1	
	Marceli	„	1	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Semivombi	„	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
3.	Ndereye	„	1	2	2	—	1	—	1/8	4	4	6	3	
	Donati	„	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	Semajeri	Mwambari	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Semilyangu	Muvuna	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Katutsi	Mukwa	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Ndegeya	Mwichozi	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Banitogega	Mukora	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
4.	Mukuri	Mwishaza	1	1	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	4	1	
	Kolombani	„	1	—	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	2	—	
	Otto	„	1	—	—	—	1	—	1/8	2	—	2	—	
5.	Mpabuka	„	1	2	1	—	1	—	—	3	2	outside		
	Sebichikira	„	1	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
6.	Matayo	Muhuma	1	—	—	—	1	—	1 1/8	7	12	1	1	Son-in-law of No. 9.
	Bisega	Mushobio	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Nyira Majoro	Muhuma	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	midwives
	Nyira Kimonjo	Mukara	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
7.	Gukuru	Mwishaza	1	1	—	3	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	
8.	Marobi	„	1	1	—	2	1	—	1	4	4	1	—	Day laborer for board
	Ndamwete	„	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
9.	Sebutama	„	1	2	1	—	1	—	1	2	2	4	1	
10.	Gafene	„	1	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
11.	Senguri	„	1	1	—	1	1	—	8/8	1.	—	4	2	Field of No.1
12.	Mafara	Munyabgisha	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	2	2	2	—	Son-in-law
	Birere	„	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	Brother of No.12
13.	Ndungutsi	Mwishaza	1	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	Field of No.1
14.	Bukara	„	1	1	2	—	2	—	—	—	—	2	—	
	Antigoni	„	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	
	Pilipo	„	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	2	—	
15.	Segibobi	„	1	1	—	—	2	—	—	2	—	2	—	Children of vagrant wife
	— · —		—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
16.	Nderiwamunda	„	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	4	2	
17.	Bihwehwe	„	1	1	—	2	1	—	—	3	—	2	1	
18.	Gihigwa	„	1	1	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	1	—	
			27	22	11	16	30	9	9 2/10	41	28	45	12	104 persons 1)

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1) Among them 47 male clan members and two sons-in-law.

614
621
592
231
423

No.	Name	Clan	Clan Members	Sons	Married Daughters	Unmarried Daughters	Wives	Bagaragu	Cows plus Bulls	Goats	Sheep	Fields	Banana Groves	
	Bahoma of Kitebe (Balyolyo Branch)													
1.	Rugira	Mulyolyo	1	2	—	3	4	—	$2^1/_4+1$	3	4	3	1	„mugabo"
	Sebishimbo	Mudahe	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
2.	Dominiko	Mulyolyo	1	1	—	1	1	—	$^1/_8$	2	2	2	—	
	Budjodjwe	Mugai	—	—	—	—	—	1	$3^1/_8+1$	—	—	—	—	
3.	Rukara	Mulyolyo	1	—	3	1	1	—	—	5	—	3	1	
	Muchuchu	Murashi	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Birikunzira	Munyakaru	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Rusigari	„	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
4.	Paro	Mulyolyo	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	2	—	2	—	
	Sanzibarose	Mwambari	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
5.	Rudjanju	Mulyolyo	1	3	—	3	2	—	$2^3/_4+1$	4	4	4	1	
	Mabgiri	Muhanuka	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Karbagoye	Mutembe	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
6.	Sedigi	Mulyolyo	1	1	—	—	1	—	$2+^1/_8$	2	2	4	1	
7.	Bihire	„	1	2	3	—	2	—	—	1	—	5	1	
8.	Bashaki	„	1	—	—	3	1	—	—	—	—	2	—	
9.	Ishaho	„	1	1	—	1	2	—	$2+^1/_8$	3	—	3	1	
	Mwiza	„	—	—	—	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	
10.	Patris	„	1	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	2	1	
			10	11	6	14	17	9	$12^5/_8+4$	22	12	30	7	61 persons 1)
	Bagwabiro of Kitebe													
1.	Mwuyekure	Mugwabiro	1	2	1	1	3	—	$^1/_8$	5	2	4	1	„mugabo"
2.	Maliro	„	1	5	—	1	2	—	—	5	4	4	1	
3.	Semitesa	„	1	1	—	1	1	—	—	1	1	3	1	
4.	Mahembe	„	1	1	2	1	4	—	4	5	—	8	1	
	Karisti	„	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
	Kichondo	„	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
5.	Bidjari	„	1	2	—	—	2	—	1	6	—	10	1	
6.	Sekini	„	1	2	—	—	1	—	1	3	—	3	1	
7.	Sebihumira	„	1	1	—	—	1	—	—	$^1/_2$	—	4	1	
			7	14	3	4	14	2	$6^1/_8$	25½	7	36	7	41 persons 2)

1) Among them 21 male clan members.

2) Among them 21 male clan members.

614 grown sons are listed below them, and this shows that the average
621 size of a family with its servants is about six persons, three or four
592 of which occupy one hut. The number of huts is almost identical
423 with the number of women. It is very important to note that the
231 head of the Baishaza clan community, the mugabo, Ndiramiye, is
one of the poorest farmers on Katebe.

[252]

Chapter 12

King and State

643 The King. The power of the king is the active factor in the
614 formation of the state in Ruanda which has influenced the passive
178 factor, clan organization. The entire state is nothing more than
642 the overgrown household of the king, into which all the Batutsi clans
were first drawn and then absorbed. As the imperial household grew,
the Bahutu clans were likewise drawn into its sphere of influence.
They underwent a process of disintegration and differentiation which
is still going on. In fact, in the northern part of Ruanda the process
is still in its beginning stages.

644 In speaking of the clan communities of Katebe and Kitebe in
Bugoye, we mentioned the bagaragu (clients) who come from
another district and attach themselves to the powerful in order to
serve them and to get their living from them. Some among these
hope to be granted a goat or even a cow. Among the clan elders,
for example, Lukara, who enjoyed great influence in his clan, the
number of these clients was large. He granted them parcels of land
on which they could settle under his protection. The same thing
goes on in the court of the king, with some modification and on a
far greater scale. The king's bagaragu are not poor devils who
have been exiled, but influential people with large retinues who in
642 turn have dependents and subdependents. In this respect the Ruanda
state is a pyramid with the king at the head and the free farm population
without property at its base. In between are the high chiefs
with their subchiefs as the organizing element that keeps the population
in check.

643 Juhi Musinga, the ruler of Ruanda, was without doubt the most
618 powerful of the native potentates whom I had an opportunity to see

643 during my journey. He controlled the largest country and boasted
648 the largest number of subjects. At the beginning of our acquaintance he certainly did not give the impression of being the most intelligent ruler. Later, however, I was repeatedly convinced that he always made an effort to appear stupid [253] when the wishes of the Europeans were troublesome to him. He tried to gain time by toying with German words whose meaning he pretended to want to know. Thus, he would draw out a visit in order to tire the guest and in the end evade the whole matter under consideration.

On August 10, 1907, I had my first opportunity to see His Black Majesty. At noon I caught up with the main part of the expedition, and around three o'clock Musinga arrived in order to pay a return visit to His Highness the Duke. He was a slender, delicately built young man, 197 centimeters tall, with somewhat squinting, myopic eyes and protruding teeth. He wore a length of red cloth (*bendera*) over his shoulders and a white loincloth. The latter was held together with a belt to which was fastened the hunting knife which His Highness the Duke had given him the day before. The splendid figures of his retinue made a much more aristocratic and elegant impression than the king himself.

Musinga's ceremonious visit on the next day made an entirely different impression on me. He appeared wearing a diadem, his face veiled, and he was borne in a *ngobi*, surrounded by the members of his court who were formally dressed in their *mukane*. He was accompanied by the melodious, albeit wild singing of the Batwa. The entire picture was devoid of European influence and gave the impression of fantastic, indescribable beauty, everything was so perfect, aristocratic, and elegant. The ceremony had great style and was carried out with admirable exactness and distinction. It represented the complete negation of ordinary Negro style as I had observed it among my porters who paraded around in frock coats without pants.

It was not quite clear to me to what extent Musinga has adjusted himself to the new situation brought about by European conquest. He knows that his freedom of action has been somewhat curtailed, but he also knows that he can use government soldiers to suppress small, local revolts and to dun taxpayers who are in arrears. Best of all he knows that Mpumbika, the leader of the

643 followers of the Kissaka pretender, was exiled from the country
646 only with the help of government troops.

Moreover, he hopes that his powerful friend, Tiki-Tiki (Captain W. Von Grawert, the erstwhile imperial resident of Ruanda and Urundi), who has already presented him with cows from Mpororo, will also one day drive the Belgians out of Ufumbiro and Bunyabungu and that he himself, like his father, Lwabugiri, will have sovereign power there.

Musinga, like every Mututsi, hates the Belgians particularly, indeed, much more than all the other disgusting egg-eaters put together. They shot down a great many of Rudegambia's people who tried to thwart their efforts to settle on Lake Kivu. Furthermore, [254] the guiding policy of the Belgians was to exclude the unproductive aristocracy. They wanted to exploit the natives all by themselves, without letting the Batutsi take part. They were even obliged to grant the Bahutu a certain amount of protection as recompense for the heavy burden of provisioning the large occupation forces which were needed to prevent too great an emigration from the Ruzizi-Kivu border territory.

German policy pursues basically the same goals, but the preservation of the old forms of social and political organization and the gradual development of new conditions gave Musinga no opportunity to comprehend the whole nature of the approaching danger, against which he was, of course, completely helpless. Instinctively, however, he foresaw the perilous situation. He ignored the opportunity to enlarge his territorial possessions by unconditional and eager support of the Europeans, as Kahigi from Kyanja had done, nor did he know what to do with Mpororo which had been given to him.

Although government troops have always supported Musinga, it is said that he cannot sleep as long as there is even one Askari in Nyanza. This will suffice to characterize his mental attitude toward the new situation.

Musinga is very vain and susceptible to flattery. For instance, he insists that his court dancers perform better than the most skillful dancers of his chiefs. That is why, after the performances, his first question to His Highness the Duke was which troupe had danced the best. The Duke, who had been tipped off by Father

643 L. Classe, was able to give him the desired pleasure by telling
648 him that his dancers were the best, although the dances of
Kanuma's people from Kissaka had made the greatest impression
on His Highness as well as on the others present. Musinga, it
seems, shared this general opinion, but in order to assure himself
that he had correctly understood the Duke, he asked him to have
small gifts of glass beads given to his ntore, so that everyone would
believe they had actually done the best dancing. Only after this
request was carried out, was he content and scornfully looked down
on his bagaragu as defeated rivals. With His Majesty's height of
two meters and his squinting, myopic eyes, this was a very funny
spectacle.

643 This childish, petty vanity, however, is also linked with a
considerable degree of mischief. For example, Musinga twice
refused the request of Father L. Classe who wanted to take to
Issawi the old, broken-down barrel organ that Father Brard had
given to the king. In Nyanza it stood in the rain and had become
a playground for rats. Musinga maintained that one does not give
away something that has been given one as a gift. This was no
[431] excuse, for in Ruanda gifts are always passed on, and a watch that
had been given to Musinga came back to the giver through a third
person at one-twentieth of its market value.

[255] There was another reason why he refused to give back the organ. The instrument was broken, and the missionaries wanted to repair it. Musinga knew that. An object that refused to play for the king should serve the missionaries! Musinga did not care a fig for the organ itself. He did not even express the wish to have it repaired, although he usually plagued his visitors with all kinds of requests in order to tire them.

His attitude toward the phonograph was very interesting. Quite apart from the pleasure which this trick of modern technology gave him, he enjoyed hearing Ruanda songs, even though they were badly reproduced. The European pieces, which were technically much better, did not give him any pleasure and soon disappeared from the repertoire of phonograph concerts. There was only one piece with infantry commands, drums, and flutes which he asked for occasionally. The barrel organ ground out pieces which he did not understand, and that is probably why he paid so little attention to it.

643 The king has authority in matters pertaining to the cult. For
656 example, in 1906 he forbade old women to smoke tobacco. This
command was scrupulously observed, for people were afraid that
those who did not comply would die. The pipes were placed on
the hilltops where they were still to be seen at the time of my
journey (1907).

644 At the court of the king a fire is always kept burning by
372 Batwa. Eight or nine months before my arrival in Nyanza the fire
687 went out as a result of the carelessness of the watchmen, and they
778 had to forfeit their lives for it. The sacred fire is also said to be
kept burning in Kiziba, but there it has to be brought anew each
year from the Sese Islands.

766 The ordinary verb "to die" can not be applied to the king.
643 After his death the king is not buried but mummified over the
fire. When the body is completely dessicated, it is burned along
[775] with his hut, so not a trace remains. The kings are said to live
on as leopards after death.

A son of the deceased king is his successor. He need not be
643 the eldest, nor is he, as a rule. The uncertainty concerning the
578 successor to the throne causes internal strife in Ruanda, laying the
country open to attacks from the outside in the interval between
the death of the old king and the establishment of the new ruler.

There are, however, some regulations which eliminate cer-
643 tain categories of royal sons from the list of pretenders. Thus, a
man dedicated to Ryangombe is said to be incapable of "eating the
drum" (becoming king). This is said to have been the case with
Ishirangabo, for example, the brother of Musinga who, in his day,
guided Lieutenant Count Von Götzen. The princes whose mothers
have died are also reputedly unable to "eat the drum."

[256] As a result of this situation, children are often appointed
kings with an uncle or brother of the queen mother as regent. This
happened to Musinga, for example, whose uncle Kabare for a time
exercised the ruling power in his stead.

643 When he begins his reign, the new king and his mother as well
551 change their names. Thus, Musinga became Juhi Musinga, and his
644 mother, Kanzogera became Nyina Juhi. The queen mother and the
regent are given all the honors of a king during the king's minority.

643 Another thing that reduces the number of pretenders -- this
644 weakest aspect of the African state -- is the limited number of sons

643 of the king who are recognized and fully qualified. The moment a
644 king has a son whom he recognizes, the queen mother is said to be sent away. For this reason she brings all her influence to bear (and this influence is, as a rule, very great) to prevent the king, as long as possible, from recognizing any of his children as fully qualified.

643 Bagaragu. The king is the owner of all the land and all the
423 cows in the country. He exercises his power by granting these lands and recalling them when he is displeased. In this manner the king appoints his officials who as such can be regarded as temporary large landowners. The king keeps them in office and on their land, but he can drive them out or increase their holdings at any time.

643 The king is omnipotent. The only thing that does not yield to him is the physically impossible. Thus, for example, he can find no one who is inclined to settle as chief in Ndorwa, for this would be too dangerous in spite of the eventual help of the king.

661 An individual's power and possessions depend chiefly on the
643 favor of the king. This is the case to such an extent that even
558 the privileged must always remain in contact with the king or even live at his court, otherwise they cannot hold on to their success or their possessions. No matter how wealthy a man is, he can lose everything if he has no allies and if someone more fortunate succeeds in getting the king to withdraw his favor.

643 Every fortune hunter is surrounded by a number of clients who
644 dog his footsteps in the hope of participating in the successes of their patron. One can judge the importance and the prospects of the master by the number of these second-class fortune hunters who often have to content themselves with nothing more than gifts of milk from the king.

644 When I lived in Nyanza, I had an opportunity at eleven o'clock every morning to see the mighty ones, with a following of 50 to 60 men, march up to the king to give him a morning greeting. Among these were also completely impoverished [257] devils who, although they were marching up to the king as his bagaragu, had only one Muhutu in their retinue.

The most intimate associates of the king are his high chiefs. They are his clients (bagaragu). At the time of my visit in Nyanza

644 the following high chiefs were mentioned:

1. Nshohozamigo (Luhanga is his mugaragu in Mulera);
2. Kanuma from Kissaka;
3. Niamutezi from Kissaka;
4. Lutangabo from Kissaka;
5. Rwamanwa from Niaruguru;
6. Rudegambia;
7. Kabare from Bugessera, Nduga, Kifumbiro, Bugansa, Kissaka, etc.;
8. Lukara lwa Bishingwe (Muhutu) from Mulera;
9. Ndazihiwe (Muhutu);
10. Ishirangabo;
11. Runiga (Muhutu of the Bahenyi clan);
12. Bushakwe (Lwakadygi is his mugaragu in Bugoye);
13. Niamuhanga from Bgisha;
14. Lwabilinda from Mukinjaga, brother of Lwabugiri Kigeri;
15. Ruenankiko from Bulembo south of Mount Ndisa;
16. Nigensi from Mukinjaga.

644 These clients live in the huts that surround the large kraal of
361 the king. Their "villas" (bilaro) looked to me like an encampment that had been set up a few days before, probably because they may not have trees planted around them, as is customary, because this might detract from the beauty of the trees surrounding the royal kraal. The only ornamentations in the entire vicinity were the trees of an old abandoned settlement on a neighboring hill.

644 The bagaragu of the king do not have any definitely appointed periods of service at court, as do the musicians, for example. Their periods of uninterrupted sojourn fluctuate between weeks and years. If you ask a high chief when he expects to go home, you always get the same answer: "When the king permits it." Besides
644 the favored, it is especially the feared who are kept at court for
661 a long time so that, removed from their own people and surrounded by a lot of envious, covetous rivals, they become innocuous. If they are absent too long, they gradually lose all contact with their followers. Time and distance have their effect, here as everywhere. For example, a rebellious chief from Mukinjaga was retained at court for the length of time it would take him to fill a

644 661 traveling basket with small white beads. For two years his people had to gather these beads, [258] a ransom which was designed not to increase the delight of the subjects with their master. When he saw that the basket was being filled too quickly, the king decided that the cure for the man's attitude was not sufficiently complete and made him fill a storehouse (kigega) with hoes. Only then did Musinga permit him to go home.

644 662 Thus, next to the splitting up of property, the sojourn at court is the most important factor in the organization and stabilization of the Ruanda state. To a certain extent this ensures against all eventualities. As long as the chief, the most important person in his territory, remains at court, the king holds all the chief's lands in his own hands to a certain extent.

651 644 The local taxation system is also closely connected with the sojourn of the bagaragu at court. The high chiefs must give the king gifts as large as possible in order not to lose favor. On the other hand, they must not demand too much of their people who might otherwise move away. This restricts them in two directions. It is left to them to strike a balance between these two factors, and the result is that the individual personality of the chief plays a much greater role than is the case in corresponding positions in our modern state.

644 The Royal Court. The court of the king consists of the representatives of the aristocracy, who make up a large majority of his bagaragu and hold various offices, and all kinds of minor officials who serve the ruler. The feudal lords and their retinues make up the bulk of the population of Nyanza, but they come and then go back again to their holdings when the king gives his permission. Thus, the size of the court fluctuates considerably. During the visit of His Highness the Duke of Mecklenburg there was great excitement at Musinga's court, and the whole courtyard in front of the house was always full of people. Taps were postponed accordingly, and one usually did not hear them until around two o'clock in the morning, sometimes even later.

This, however, was not the usual picture of life at court. Everyone was so worn out by all the festivities that after the departure of His Highness the courtyard was quite empty. When I came to call the day after the expedition had departed, I did not find a single chief paying court to the king.

644 Just as the high chiefs pay court to the king, so their women are said to keep the queen mother company and remain in her service. For instance, Kahama to~~ld~~ Dr. Schubotz that his second wife was with Musinga (probably with his mother), and when she returned, another woman had to take her place.

The court of the queen mother has nothing to do with the king's harem. [259] Thus, the queen mother, Kanzogera, went on a journey when the news came that our expedition was arriving, but the wives of Musinga remained with him, although they were not visible the whole time. When Father Felix Dufays and I made recordings of their songs and played them back to Musinga, the wives of the king were gathered behind a wall of shield matting in the same hut. They listened to the sounds of the imperfect but nevertheless quite supernatural instrument and occasionally betrayed their presence with laughter that they could not suppress.

The court of the queen mother seems to be the center of the women's life in Ruanda.

Besides the high chiefs, the ntore also are among the privileged members of the king's court. The ntore form the bodyguard of the chiefs. They accompany them everywhere, in the capital and on the battlefield. They are recruited from the sons of the lesser chiefs. They are bodyguards, court dancers, and hostages at the same time, since they are responsible for the deeds of their fathers. The ntore of the king are the sons of the highest dignitaries and are known as danga baganisi.

644
535 When His Highness the Duke of Mecklenburg asked Musinga what danga baganisi meant, he answered, "askari wangu (my soldiers)." However, they perform no military duty and merely compete in the dances. Naturally, they occupy the highest position of all.

644 Besides these privileged members of the court there are others who perform special services, for example, the royal smiths, musicians, Batwa bodyguards, etc. The eldest of the royal smiths is said to enjoy great influence, but apparently the king has given him no lands. The eldest of the court Batwa, the Mutwa, Muhenehene, was pointed out to me as the royal executioner. He is also a very influential man.

644 53 The court orchestra is made up of Bahutu and Batwa. The singers are Batwa; the drummers are Bahutu. The musicians are a closed corporation and relieve one another every month. After this interval they return home and are replaced by new ones. The arrival of the new musical guard is announced on the evening of the new moon with a particularly solemn drumbeat. The drummers are exempt from certain duties. Among them there was also a Christian from Issawi.

644 Etiquette. The king always eats alone, for it is proper to eat only with people of the same class.

The king's food and drink are prepared by Bahutu. He seems to have more confidence in the subjugated Bahutu than in the ruling Batutsi. Such elaborate precautions are taken to lessen the possibility of poisoning that the drinks are made in the king's compound from products brought there. The cookhouse in the king's kraal is called mubahutu.

[260] It is said that the king sleeps very late. During my three weeks' visit I never succeeded in seeing him before eleven o'clock in the morning, and only once did I have an opportunity to meet him between eleven and twelve o'clock. I had taken the measurements of a person and started to compare his blue eyes with my Martin color chart. When the people present saw the artificial glass eyes, they were so impressed that they immediately sent for Musinga. Musinga promptly dispatched a courier requesting that I send them to him to look at. I offered to bring him the eye chart in the afternoon when I was to pay him a visit, but the king's curiosity was too great; he couldn't wait until then, and that very morning he came into my camp, something he had never done before. On this occasion I observed that when his bagaragu came out of their huts to join the king's retinue, they greeted him by clapping their hands. In Ruanda this greeting is reserved for the king, whereas in Kiziba it is bestowed on important persons generally.

Musinga receives visitors toward four o'clock in the afternoon in the muliango (front part) of his main hut (kambele).

The kambele is on the edge of an enclosed elliptical court about 100 meters wide, at the focal points of which are two

644 ceremonial trees. These were fenced in with straw and encircled with clay. The inner circle was neatly covered with grass. In front of the kambele is a podium ten meters wide, four meters deep, and one-half meter high. On it, to the right of the entrance, were cattle horns and a plant on which libations were made.

When he receives Europeans, Musinga is acutely aware of his lofty position. The king sits on a stool that is somewhat larger than those one sees in the natives' huts. Count Von Götzen (1) says that Kigeri sat on a chair embroidered with pink and white beads. Musinga's chair was devoid of this decoration. The king does not offer his guests a chair, and if one did not carry along his own chair, he would have to squat on the floor, like the king's lords. [554] In this connection we must point out that in Ruanda the right to use a stool in public is linked with the idea of privileged position. This explains the polite phrase, "urakagira intebe (may you have a stool)."

The king is said to pass his evenings drinking beer. On these occasions legends are told about his illustrious ancestors.

The musicians are obliged to keep watch throughout the night. Taps, which are actually a very heavy drum beat, were never heard before two o'clock, [261] sometimes even later. The king is said to stay awake until this late hour. That is why ndamutsu, the heavy drumbeat that greets the king in the morning, never occurs until between eleven and twelve. Early in the morning, between four and five, the drums are also sounded, but only to show the king that the watch is on duty and that he can sleep peacefully. In the hut where he sleeps the king is said to keep an elephant tusk which always lies near his bed.

493 It is said that on his journeys a troop of Batwa carry the king in a small hut. This hut, kitabashwa, is supposedly kept in a

1. Götzen, Count G. A. Von, Durch Afrika von Ost nach West [Through Africa from East to West] (Berlin, 1899), p. 178.

493 [778] courtyard at the king's compound, guarded by Batwa. A consecrated elephant tusk is also supposed to be kept there.

During the visit in Nyanza by His Highness the Duke, Musinga climbed into a ngobi at the request of Captain W. Von Grawert. This is the conveyance in which the chiefs are carried on journeys. The king was reluctant to do this, perhaps because he was afraid or because this form of conveyance did not seem to him appropriate to his rank.

643 484 While the king is on a journey, his Batwa bearers may get food wherever they wish, for everything is the king's property. That is why Lwabugiri, who was always traveling about, became such a burden to the country. Only the Batwa speak longingly of those days. They accompanied his expeditions, and I often heard them say: "In those days there was a lot of meat. Now Batwa have no standing."

Dr. Hans Meyer says: (1) "...since a sacred tradition forbids him (Musinga) to travel beyond the borders of his central province, he is very limited in his outlook." This statement must be based on a misunderstanding, since the rulers of Ruanda formerly traveled a great deal, and this is spoken of in detail in the legends. In all probability a native told Professor Meyer how much he disliked the troublesome journeys of the king, hoping, perhaps, that by misleading an influential European he might make the king's journeys impossible in the future.

565 Social Organization. We can distinguish four classes among the population of Ruanda. The privileged class consists of the royal officials. It includes the feudal lords of the king (bagaragu) and their subchiefs with their retinues, as well as the rest of the dignitaries at court. Most of the court officials are also feudal lords; some, however, like the head of the royal smiths, are said to hold no lands.

Among the elect, the highest rank is, of course, held by the family of the king, the Banieginia, and that of the queen mother, the Bega.

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1. Travel reports of Prof. Hans Meyer on German East Africa, Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, p. 347.

565 [262] The privileged class consists almost entirely of Batutsi. Among the lower officials, represented by the community headmen, there are quite a number of Bahutu, especially in Bugoye. In Mulera and Bgisha there are Bahutu even among the lords of the king. The officials are commonly called batware (plural).

565 Next in rank are the warriors (ngabo). They are placed under
701 particular chiefs and perform no work in the chiefs' fields. In
other words, they occupy their own land which their ancestors took
possession of and cleared generations ago. After the Batutsi con-
quest they were not driven from their land, and the king recog-
[651] nizes their privileges. They pay only the ordinary taxes, but
they must always be ready for war. On them rests the burden of the
blood tax, from which the ordinary farmers (biletwa) are, at
least theoretically, exempt.

Membership in the corps of ngabo is herediitary, but a person can be ousted from this privileged class as a punishment. On the other hand, I do not know whether there are cases of an ordinary farmer being raised to the position of ngabo.

[714] The insignia of the ngabo is the kigomero, the wooden ring which protects the archer against the recoil of the bowstring.

In the interior, for example, in Nduga, the ngabo are less numerous and are scattered on the hilltops among the rest of the population. There are many more of them in the border districts, and in Mulera, for instance, they make up almost the entire population.

565 Free farmers without land of their own (biletwa) make up the third class. They cultivate the land belonging to the crown and give the chief two or three days' labor out of a five- or six-day week. Besides that they must also pay taxes.

The fourth class consists of the pariah tribe of Batwa. They
are hunters, potters, and rain makers. They are the police
[693] and also hangmen. Chief Songore, whose principal occupation
at court is torturing criminals and very skillfully thrashing them
with two small sticks, is said to be a Mutwa.

567 There are also slaves in Ruanda. The institution of slavery, however, has no importance, although the number of slaves in Bugoye and among the Batutsi of Nduga is said to be very considerable. As far as I know, the slaves here are chiefly women,

567 baja who were sold by their parents when they were children in exchange for food during the not infrequent famines. I was unable to find out anything in detail about the social position of boys who are sold in this way. I believe that when they grow up they are absorbed into the bagaragu stratum.

Every district that has periodic famines, for example, Ufumbiro [263], furnishes slaves who, unprotected by their relatives in a strange region, remain in an inferior position, dependent on the protection of their master. In every mission one can see a number of little slaves who have settled there to get away from their masters. On the whole, however, the position of slaves is not at all bad. I never heard of maltreatment.

565 [482] Loads are carried chiefly by the biletwa.[1] The Bahutu of this category have personal freedom. They may abandon their house and fields and change masters, as long as they do not leave the state. The batware on the border must see to it that people do not leave the country.

661 565 Actually, however, the existence of the common man is of no consequence, and he is tolerated only on the condition that he satisfies all the demands of the rulers. Often a native cannot simply give up his field and his hut without further ado. He must put up with minor depredations, ostensibly as punishment for alleged crimes. He must pay his taxes and provide food for travelers if the king requests it, although the mutware himself pockets the amount given.

In this primitive, undifferentiated society, however, the possibilities of exploitation are extremely limited. As long as it is simply a question of furnishing food for the relatively small number of rulers, the latter can be satisfied, no matter how large their appetites. Thus, the slight possibility of exploitation lays the foundation of a social equilibrium without legally established norms. Also, if we take into consideration the constant internal struggle of an unsettled state which is very much dependent on the support of the subject masses, we discover the second factor which sharply curbs tyranny. The rulers must consider their subjects, otherwise they run the risk of being abandoned by their followers and subjects and defeated by their rival. Political

[1] [i.e. Free farmers without land of their own—Analyst]

661 wisdom consists in not letting oneself be governed too much by
565 caprice and not becoming relatively the worst tyrant.

Even now when there is peace in the land, petty wars among
669 Musinga's bagaragu and brawls among the bagaragu of the bagaragu
642 of the king are by no means rare, but they occur chiefly in the border regions where the power of the king is not so strongly felt. At the time of my visit, for example, Lukara was fighting with Luhanga in Mulera. In cases like this it often happens that the king is unable to find a man who would not be too afraid to manage and tax the warlike farmers if they were assigned to him. In this way the Bahutu gain their independence and can be subjugated anew only by a punitive expedition.

[264] Under these circumstances, petty internal strife is a natural function of the state and does not result merely in brutality and devastation. In this way, even though it is uneconomical, poor administrators are weeded out, and the power of the strong is curtailed. This principle may at first glance seem paradoxical, but it corresponds very well to the facts. When it comes to the formation of a state under unlimited rule which on principle admits no protest, limitations must arise spontaneously if large masses of people are to live together.

661 The situation changes, however, the moment there is pacifi-
642 cation and the country is opened up and organized by Europeans.
178 The old, natural, albeit uneconomical forms which, after all,
648 regulated conditions are now done away with by force of arms and the rulers, weakened by emigration, overcome. On the other hand, the opening up of export trade creates countless possibilities for exploiting subjects in a hitherto unknown way. The situation of the natives is getting worse, for the new judicial norms, despite their humane phraseology, are less protection to them than the old regulations upon which the organization of the state was built. In Kissaka one can see many natives from Ussuwi who have taken refuge there from the blessings of humane European civilization. Under these new conditions, the only weapon in the hands of the subjects is economic injury to the chief, and this can be achieved by the emigration of the labor force.

The situation of the natives is worst of all where Europeans have put a stop to freedom of movement in order to make police

661 642 178 648 control easier. The moment this happens the native no longer has any protection against his chief. As a result, the need for serious intervention by the European administration becomes an urgent necessity. With increased possibilities of exploitation certain norms must now be set up which will protect the interests of the common man and permit him some freedom, in other words, give him back everything that was formerly guaranteed him by means of a less perfect, less compact and oppressive social organization and without any kind of pact. Under these conditions, further intervention by the European administration becomes a necessity, because there is as yet no guarantee that the new order will do more than contribute to a "more complete exploitation of the lazy Negro" and perhaps also to a decline in the population.

642 64 178 By comparing conditions in Ndorwa, Mulera, Bugoye, and Nduga, we can easily determine the direction in which conditions have developed in Ruanda.

In Ndorwa we find independent clans living apart from one another.

[265] In Mulera the clans have been subjugated by the king and pay taxes. The Batutsi have driven the natives from some of the hills and permit homeless members of disrupted clans to settle there. These dregs must support their masters and perform compulsory services for the protection they get. These are the new communities which really should be spoken of as analogous to large estates. Some of the clan elders, such as Bishingwe, father of Lukara, are joining the conquerors and are supported by them. With this support they settle immigrants on the uncultivated land, and the latter must perform compulsory services, just as they do for the Batutsi.

In Bugoye the distinction between conquerors and peasant aristocracy is gradually being effaced and along with it the difference between impoverished clan members and immigrants who are domiciled on the remaining free land by the clan elder and become his bondsmen. In Bugoye this process is not yet completed.

The Bambari clan have already put their buletwa to work in the field of the chief, who is also a Mumbari and who must be regarded as a former clan elder. Here the land is already regarded as his property, as land granted by the king.

642 614 178 However, the Bagwabiro, an impoverished Batutsi clan, maintain that the king gave them the bush knife (muhoro) for Bugoye. They occupied large areas, defended them, in some parts successfully, against the encroaching self-contained clans, and settled them with exiles, refugees, and vagabonds, who make up the biletwa of the Bagwabiro. Here the community headmen are officials of the king, which is in contrast to the situation among the rest of their clansmen where bagabo only collect taxes for the Bagwabiro. However, there seems to be a tendency to blot out the difference between Bagwabiro and tax collectors (clan elders) and to make serfs of the clan members, as is already the case with the Bambari.

In Nduga the population on the various hills is very mixed. It belongs to different clans. Most of the land belongs to the chiefs (the large landowners), and only occasionally do we find ngabo (fighting farmers) who are exempt from compulsory service (buletwa), that is to say, who live on their own land (granted to them by the king).

In this way clan organization in Ruanda is broken up by the rule of the herdsmen and the resultant development of a peasant aristocracy. The factors that remain to uphold clan organization are the food taboos, exogamy, and blood revenge.

The effect of royal power on the homogeneous clans has resulted in the differentiation of the population.

In Urundi the tendency towards centralized state organization [266] does not seem to have made much progress as yet. Here there are still feudal masters who are unrestricted rulers of entire provinces, while in Ruanda the chiefs have nowhere near the same independence on their lands. Here too, however, the land is regarded as the king's property.

635 Political Organization. Ruanda consists of a number of provinces with geographic names but without administrative units. We have already mentioned Nduga, Mukinjaga, Bugessera, Bugoye, Bwischascha, Mulera, Bgisha, Ruweruka, Ndorwa, and Kissaka.

The individual provinces have no central administration and
634 no governor. The provinces are divided into a number of communities, most of which are assigned to clients staying at the

634 court of the king. The feudal lord, the *manangwa*, has the duty of keeping his subjects in check, straightening out their affairs, and supporting his master with arms and retainers. In payment he has the right to be cared for by the inhabitants of the holdings entrusted to him. They must perform compulsory services to recompense him for the land given them to cultivate. Besides that, chiefs also enjoy a profit from the other taxes collected for the king.

The clients of the king administer their holdings with the help of subchiefs, and in each province they have a greater or lesser number of scattered possessions.

The representative of the *manangwa* is called *kissonga* and usually belongs to his master's family. He is appointed by his master, just as the king appoints the *manangwa*. The sons of high chiefs often hold this office. Thus, Nigensi's son, Kassasi, is on the Kwischara Peninsula in northern Mukinjaga (1); Bushakwe's son, Mulangira, lives in Kawagali (2) with his grandmother, Kiramato; Von Parisch also mentions the *mutware*, Sebitana, son of Bushakwe, in Bwischascha; and Dr. Kandt (3) speaks of Semirigamba in southern Lubengera. In the Bahutu chieftainships of Bgisha, ruled by Sebikoko, Mogalule, Kati, Mutweki, Sebingiri, Chunga Ngombe, and others, conditions are

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1. Kandt, R., "Ein Marsch am Ostufer des Kiwu [A March along the Eastern Shore of Lake Kivu]," *Globus*, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 249.

2. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1903 [Two Journeys Through Ruanda 1902-1903]," *Globus*, Vol. 86 (1904), pp. 73, 74.

3. Kandt, R. *Caput Nili* (Berlin, 1904), p. 505.

634 somewhat different. The most important personality after the chief is his brother. He represents him in all matters. Both of them have their houses in the individual villages in which they live during their journeys. The son ranks just below the brother of his father and is granted a village after he has grown up. He is not entitled to gifts in the other villages of his father, and only if he has [267] no uncle does he get an uncle's rank. In spite of this preference, the brother of the chief is not his heir; all his possessions go to the son after the burial of the father.

622 563 Below the kissonga are the quite unimportant subchiefs who supervise the communities on the separate hills. Among them there are everywhere, especially in Bugoye, many Bahutu, whereas the higher positions are almost always held by Batutsi. It is only in Mulera and Bgisha that one sees Bahutu also occupying the highest positions.

The Bahutu officials are very much praised by their superiors, for no one can be more merciless and servile than an upstart who is hated by his clansmen. This characterization does not, of course, apply to the clan elders who occupy this position in the free farm communities. The subchiefs are the only cattle-owning Bahutu outside of Mulera, Bgisha, and Bugoye.

642 631 There is no doubt that with the extensive interweaving of property belonging to individual high chiefs (in this respect the whole country resembles a village with a community system of planting [Flurzwang]) an influential stratum is created which has vital interests in the most diverse parts of the country. This counteracts the centrifugal, particularistic tendencies of the individual provinces.

642 631 643 These conditions seem to be the result of a conscious aim on the part of the crown. In this direction much seems to have been accomplished by Lwabugiri Kigeri, the father of the present ruler, Musinga. Kigeri is reputed to have centralized the state and partitioned, scattered, and interwoven the holdings of the chiefs in order to destroy the centrifugal tendencies of the feudal lords. This involved him in bitter struggles with the lords, among them his brother-in-law, Kabare, but he managed to crown his efforts with success.

631 642 The modern European who is accustomed to sharply demarcated administrative districts and has no idea of social equilibrium based on the interweaving of economic interests finds this principle of administration absurd. That is how Captain Göring (1) judged conditions in Urundi. He says: "The division of the country is entirely without system. One often finds watuale who own various lands widely separated from each other."

I was told that Lwabugiri's policy is being followed by Musinga. He is said to prefer appointing chiefs who are directly responsible to him and to give them lands. These unimportant, free persons, mindful of the king's protection, form an element [268] independent of and even hostile to the high chiefs. They guard their own interests and resist the particularistic tendencies of the powerful.

This policy tends to erase the boundaries of individual provinces, and one encounters great difficulties if he asks about the political division of the country.

After this brief discussion of the central organization of the state which is made up of the king and a dozen and a half powerful feudal lords, we shall now touch on the political conditions in the individual sections.

The organization of Kissaka has the following pattern. The largest part of the country is divided among three large feudal lords, Kanuma, Niamutezi, and Lutangabo. Their lands are interspersed in such a way that no separate provinces can be formed. This increases their opposition to each other. Hence the dignitaries check on one another and fight one another with accusations and intrigues. In this way mutual control, which is very useful to the state, is established, as well as a quite stable equilibrium.

These three high chiefs of Kissaka live almost constantly at the court of Musinga in Nyanza, and when they obtain permission to visit their holdings, their sons remain behind as valuable hostages, a guarantee against possible separatistic

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[193] 1. Captain Göring, "Zu den Unruhen in Urundi [On the Unrest in Urundi]," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1911, p. 552.

631 642 tendencies of their fathers. Count Von Götzen (1) mentions only one governor of Kissaka, namely, Kavahigi, but he also speaks of Kaware (Kabare) in the northern part of the country.

621 631 [622] The hill (kashozi) is the smallest political unit in Kissaka, as well as in all the rest of Ruanda. The inhabitants of a hill belong to different clans, and the factor uniting them is purely political. It is primarily the chief, to whom compulsory service (buletwa) must be paid. This official is likewise appointed by the high chief. However, the very large hills are not infrequently divided into subgroups with different subchiefs. Thus, the hill known as Bare in Nsasa is divided into the communities of Bare, Ishua, Kibare, and some others.

621 614 [657] [651] In Mulera where there are very few Batutsi and these have no great power, much more primitive conditions have been preserved. Here too, however, political units are represented by hills, but each hill has a homogeneous population, consisting of the members of the clan. These communities are directly subordinate to the king and, through their elders, pay taxes to the king's deputies. Here the mutware, the integrating factor, is absent. On the few hills [269] in Mulera belonging to Batutsi, however, we find conditions similar to those in Kissaka. Here, also, taxes are paid to the chiefs and not to the king's deputies. I believe that the Bahutu on these hills must also render compulsory service.

Ndorwa is a country that is only under nominal rule and does not pay taxes to Musinga. We find here the same clan communities, but they are completely independent, small political units.

Besides the two extreme forms, the community settled on alien land granted to the chief by the king, which the chief represents at court, and the free clan community settled on its own land and paying taxes to the king's deputy but having no

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1. Götzen, Count Von, Durch Afrika von Ost nach West [Through Africa from East to West] (Berlin, 1899), pp. 156, 159.

621 614 representative at court, we find clans that do have their representatives at court. The Bahenyi represent such a Bahutu clan, and, in contrast to the Batutsi tribes, they have a headman. At the time of my visit it was Runiga.

Among the members of the clans, however, there are also high chiefs. Thus, Kakawandi is said to be a Muhenyi. He rules in the Nyawarongo Valley far into Mulera, but I do not know whether he rules in a part of the original clan territory.

The Barashi constitute another Bahutu clan represented at Musinga's court by its elder. We have discussed this clan in the previous chapter.

Bugoye is also in an intermediate position. Here we have areas of free farmers and others where the land has been granted to chiefs and is cultivated by biletwa. These lands are chiefly under the rule of Bushakwe, who is represented in the territory by Lwakadygi.

625 202 Police. The king supervises the entire country with the help of a very strictly organized police force. Every important person, every European traveler, is scrupulously watched. Every minor detail is reported to the king. It is certainly not easy to understand how such accuracy can be achieved without the art of writing. Police duty is under the management of local chiefs, and they relay dispatches to the high chiefs residing at court. Actually, news is shouted from one hilltop to another. The chiefs report to the king and try to outdo each other in the accuracy and dispatch of their news service.

625 578 The population hates the police agents. I had an opportunity to observe this when the Mututsi, Lwakazina, wanted to join my column in Mulera for protection. The people had become so enraged at him because of his dangerous service that his life and goods were no longer safe.

[270] Count Von Götzen (1) mentions that Batwa policemen are said to wear special insignia, a forehead band with monkey hair.

659 There are no public services in Ruanda, with the exception of ferry service and police regulations, if we may use this term. Both of these, however, serve primarily to satisfy the needs

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1. Götzen, Count Von, Durch Afrika von Ost nach West (Berlin, 1899), p. 161.

159 of the king and his favorites, upon whom state affairs and interests are centered.

151 Tax System. The interweaving of landed property is not the only means of paralyzing local, particularistic aims. The system of taxation accomplishes this too. The tax burden of the farmers is divided into several units which are usually collected by different chiefs. In this instance the chiefs are only intermediaries, but they retain part of the taxes.

The taxes of the farmers consist of food, hoes, beer, animals, and work *in natura*.

The tax to be paid to the king is determined by the king himself. Special conditions in individual communities sometimes exempt them from transporting their produce to the capital city. Thus, for example, Issawi Hill was exempt from food deliveries to the capital because Europeans were staying there.

The tax to be paid to the chief is determined by the chief himself, but he may not overburden his people; otherwise his work force may threaten to move away. Taxes in the form of food are collected during the harvest. There is considerable local variation in the amount of taxation in Ruanda. It varies also among individual high chiefs. Thus, in Marangara, for example, the people of Nshohozamigo work two days out of a five-day week in the fields of their chiefs. The people of Rudegambia and Kabare only perform services in the capital, for example, build huts and deliver food supplies. The fields of the subchiefs are cultivated by their clients who have become subject to compulsory labor through the granting of cows, as well as by wageworkers who are paid in milk and butter. In Issawi clients do not work in the fields of their patrons.

In Ruanda there are different categories of taxes, and the people are taxed very differently.

The greatest burden is *buletwa*, work that must be performed *in natura* on the fields of the chief, a primitive great landowner. The people work [271] two to three days out of a five- to six-day week on the land of the *mutware*. This work is the Muhutu's payment for the land on which he has settled and is not performed by the free farmers (*ngabo*) who have their own land which was cleared

651 by their ancestors and from which they were not driven away during the conquest.

The second ancient burden is butaka. It is paid primarily in food and tobacco and only to a minor extent in cash hoe-money. The king's capital does not have any fields of its own. The court is fed by supplies delivered by subjects from near and distant provinces. Only cattle are pastured in the environs of the capital; there are no farmers who till land.

644 651 All the potentates living at court are fed from home. Bringing food for the chief residing at court is called kugemurira mutware. Food supplies are brought almost daily. As a result, any stoppage of this traffic means a food scarcity among the dignitaries thus affected. There are no markets where provisions could be obtained. Because of this primitive arrangement, food in the capital is always rather scarce, and everyone to whom I spoke about this told me that no one lives in the lap of luxury at court during his stay which is usually involuntary. The Batwa bodyguards even maintain that they actually starve and would very much like to return to their poor settlements.

To these two ancient tax burdens Lwabugiri added the war tax (umuheto) and Musinga the food supply tax (ilali) for visiting Europeans.

651 661 Among the Bahutu the furnishing of food supplies for visiting Europeans is merely an additional tax for the benefit of their chief. He regards the presents of the European as his property and not infrequently takes for himself part of the supplies brought by his people for the Europeans. I saw an example of this in Kwa Rutagungira. The requisition for my presence brought the chief three goats and four pots of beer, but I received only two pots and two goats. The larger pots and the best goats were put aside by the chief, but this was done too close to my camp to escape the notice of the people who were excited by the approaching pots of beer.

651 635 The collection of butaka and muheto, which are paid, theoretically at least, throughout the country, is distributed among various chiefs, as has already been reported by Von

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Parisch. (1) He mentions: [272]

1. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903 [Two Journeys through Ruanda 1902-1903]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), pp. 74, 78.

Province or Region	Chief (mutware)	
	Ku butaka	Ku muheto
Bugoye	Bushakwe	Bushakwe
Mukinoni	Bushakwe	Rudegambia
Bwischascha	Bushakwe	Rudegambia
Mukinjaga	Lubilinda	Rudegambia
Niantungu . . . . . (between Bwischascha and Nduga)	Bushakwe	Kabare
Munjaga . . . . (belongs to Nduga)	Lujondo	Kanuma
Kawagali . . . . (belongs to Nduga)	Bushakwe	Bushakwe

Von Parisch also mentions the mutware ku muheto Balahanda who led the attack on Count Von Götzen.

651 The butaka, it seems, is always collected by the chief to whom the land is granted. The muheto tax, on the other hand, goes to the chief who is entrusted with the king's cattle in the district. He has the right to pasture cows on the harvested fields of the farmers, which is a very considerable burden to the population. Thus, for example, the grass on many hills in Bugoye belongs to Rudegambia, although Bushakwe is the high chief of the region. On my way to Kisenyi I saw many uncultivated fields that had to lie fallow because the Batutsi removed their cattle too late for planting.

Dr. Kandt (1) also speaks of two chiefs in the provinces. He

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[113] 1. Kandt, R., "Ein Marsch am Ostufer

des Kiwu [A March along the Eastern Shore of Lake Kivu]," *Globus*, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 213.

calls one the chief of the people and the other the chief of the cattle.

The *ilali* tax seems to be collected by special officials who at the same time are entrusted with the supervision of the Europeans who travel about the country. In some cases this office is carried out by *batware ku muheto* or *batware ku butaka*.

The amount accruing to the chiefs when they collect the taxes is called *musogongero* and is fixed for the *butaka* and *muheto*. For the *ilali* this does not seem to be the case. The amount varies from one situation to another, in proportion to the size of the caravan of Europeans that has to be provided for.

In order to describe the taxes somewhat more in detail, we herewith give the tax burden carried by the three communities on Katebe and Kitebe which we have discussed before.

[273] Taxes for the Communities on Katebe and Kitebe

	Baishaza	Balyolyo	Bagwabiro
Population (including *bagaragu*)	104	61	41
Male clan members among these	47 + 2[1]	21	21
Butaka for Musinga	9 Kaniki = 27 hoes	10 hoes	6 hoes
Musogongero for Chief Bizira Kuzama	6 hoes	?	?
Muheto	3000 *butega*	1000 *butega*	1000 *butega*
Musogongero	3 hoes to Makobi	Goat for 5 hoes to Murahangubo	
Ilali (through Gamidji)	1 package of beans	Small pot of beer, basket of sweet potatoes, basket of beans	1 load of beans
Buletwa	none	none	none

[1] Two sons-in-law.

651 The bagaragu of Chief Makobi do hoeing as recompense for rented fields, or this may be done by paid day laborers (mubizi). The clan communities under discussion, however, are free of this burden, since they live on their own land.

There are also taxes that are paid by particular families or communities. The furnishing of objects whose manufacture presupposes a certain skill falls in this category. Among these objects are salt that is made from swamp grass, grass rings for women's legs (butega), otter skins, wildcat skins, cowhides, barkcloth, weapons, etc. The people who furnish these items are exempt from part of the normal taxes that represent the share of the ordinary farmer. Thus, Mulera furnishes a rather large number of butega.

651 614 The duty of the Bahenyi, a privileged Bahutu clan, is to build royal houses. They also play a part in the cult, offering special sacrifices, and they may not eat with members of other clans.

Special taxation on individual clans seems to be a remnant of an older form of taxation, the clan tax. This has been very nicely preserved in Kiziba where individual clans have special duties toward the king. This is the nature of the taxes borne by free, landowning farmers (ngabo) in Mulera. Here the tax is the concern of the clan community. It is paid by the clan elder, and apportioning the tax is an internal matter for the community. All its members, however, have joint responsibility for paying the tax.

The ngabo pay their taxes in honey and also give the king annually every twentieth cow. If the number of cows owned is less than 20, a goat is given for each cow. In figuring taxes, one cow is equal to 20 goats.

651 661 [274] In Mulera the taxes of the ngabo are collected by special deputies of the king. We need not emphasize the self-evident fact that the officials entrusted with the collection of taxes increase the amount to their advantage and do not shrink from shameful plunder. If, as is generally the case, a high chief is not present when the taxes are collected, the Balera will not stand for this oppression. For their part, they seek every opportunity to get out of paying taxes altogether. That is why there are big rows

651 661 and not infrequently open battles whenever collection takes place. On the way to Mulera, at Kwa Rutagungira, I saw several wounded Batutsi who had to pay for their zeal as officials with holes in their hides. The business efficiency of the tax collectors is well characterized if we note their habit of substituting some of their poorer stock for the better cows that are delivered as the king's taxes. In view of its chronic character, this misuse and plunder must be regarded as a form of official remuneration.

651 We must emphasize the fact that in Mulera the taxes of the ngabo are linked to the community, the people, and not to the land they cultivate. That is why the outsider who has settled on alien soil with the approval of the residents does not participate in community taxes. He continues to pay the taxes of his own clan, and only if he is adopted by the resident clan does he pay taxes where he has settled.

651 178 This principle of family tax becomes complicated the moment pacification makes possible the disruption of clans which under the most primitive conditions have been held together by blood revenge. I saw the consequences of this complication of social conditions in Mulera in the form of a punitive expedition which reduced to ashes the settlement on Mount Kisseke. A few outsiders had bought with gifts permission to settle on Kisseke from the established residents. A few weeks after they were settled, some Batutsi arrived who had the right to collect taxes from the community of new settlers but who were complete strangers to the old established population. The new settlers
[687] promised the old ones a bull, and the latter drove off the Batutsi with weapons, killing a few and wounding several. A punitive expedition of government troops, undertaken because of Musinga's complaint, was the sequel.

651 491 The ferry toll is a special tax that affects traders particularly. It is collected by batware who are stationed at the ferries and whose people run the boats. The toll is very high. For a traveler with his pack, it is ten large beads, that is to say, a third of a day's wages. Twenty men with a herd of goats paid a piece of cloth (nguo).

[275] The batware who collect the ferry toll must also keep watch over the traffic. At the border ferries, for example, on

651 491 the Akanjaru which can be crossed at only a few places because of the swampy condition of its channel, it is their duty to prevent the natives from leaving Ruanda without the king's consent. It is obvious that under these conditions the ferry tolls are sometimes increased very considerably.

651 443 A further burden affecting the trader is the market tax, indamu. In Nyundo it was very high, 10 to 15 percent of the value of the article traded. Here Lwakadygi, Gamidji, and Makobi took turns collecting the tax.

The result of this high tax is that small auxiliary markets are set up along the paths near the markets. Here transactions are tax free. The chiefs who collect the indamu also settle disputes that arise in the markets.

651 Ivory from slain elephants and leopard skins are the property of the king and must be sent to Nyanza. The regulation requiring leopard skins to be delivered seems to be connected with the belief that after their deaths the members of the family of Ruanda rulers become leopards.

721 643 Military Affairs. The king makes all decisions concerning war and peace. He wages war in order to punish rebellious vassals or to win over vassals of other kings.

701 The troops are made up of ngabo. They are divided into contingents, the names of which are independent of the names of the provinces or of the chiefs who happen to be in command. Lieutenant Von Parisch (1) mentions the Bangogo contingent under Ruenankiko (Ruidangigo) and the Lujango contingent under Kabare.

Usually only a few contingents are called out for military expeditions. This was the case, for example, with the last expedition against the Mutwa Bassebia in 1906, which ended in failure.

Generals are appointed separately by the king for each expedition. Ruhara Aramanzi was the commander-in-chief of the

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1. Parisch, F. R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903 [Two Journeys through Ruanda 1902 to 1903]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 77.

701 expeditionary force against Bassebia, a subchief of Ngurube, the
Mutwa from Ndorwa. As a rule, the general pays with his life
[687] for a military failure.

Count Von Götzen (2) mentions that men set out for war accompanied by their wives, but the women do not take part in the fighting.

726 791 In case of war there must always be a Muhenyi among the troops. He himself is invulnerable, and it is his duty to vilify the enemy and render their weapons harmless. A division accompanied by a Muhenyi [276] must always be victorious. This belief, however, is far too often shattered by the facts. The expedition against Bassebia was defeated, and the Muhenyi who accompanied the column lost his life. This unexpected outcome was explained by the fact that the Mutwa chief, Bassebia, had even greater magicians at his command. The "invulnerable" Bahenyi are still very much feared by everyone and are permitted to commit acts of violence which would not be tolerated for other persons.

727 The trophies brought back to the king from campaigns con-
sist of the heads and genitals of the slain enemies. On the last
unsuccessful expedition against the Mutwa chief, Bassebia,
no Batwa heads or genitals were captured. In order to cover up
[661] their failure and not be ridiculed because they had no trophies,
the returning warriors killed a few peaceful farmers who had to
sacrifice their heads and genitals to glorify the entrance of the
troops into the capital.

In view of the kind of trophies taken, the warriors try to kill their opponents and not take any prisoners. This is probably also tied in with the social organization which does not give rise to a need for slave labor.

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2. Götzen, G.A., Count Von, Durch Afrika von Ost nach West [Through Africa from East to West] (Berlin, 1899), p. 166.

721 Declarations of war are not made, at least not in Mulera. If a military expedition is to be undertaken, everyone knows about it long beforehand. It is hard to keep a secret. The actual declaration of war is the sound of the antelope horn calling the warriors together.

727 Baumann (1) mentions that spades wrapped with leaves are a sign of peace.

[277]

Chapter 13

Administration of Justice

671 *Law*. Ruanda has no codified laws. The administration of justice is the business of the government which takes into consideration long-established customs. This is the only kind of law one can speak of in Ruanda.

Criminal law is not developed here to such an extent that the various types of crimes must be atoned for with specific punishments. We can only indicate approximately the severity of individual punishment, since uncodified law leaves so much to the personal opinion of the judge.

628 178 The basis of justice within the clan is the institution of blood revenge. With the development of the state, this is gradually being pushed into the background, but in Ruanda the process is still in its initial stages. In Kissaka, on the other hand, it is said that before revenge is taken, the chief is notified, and he can forbid taking vengeance for a man killed for robbery.

682 685 Aside from murder, which in Ruanda proper is still punished with blood revenge, the theft of cows is very severely punished, in accordance with the role the cow has in the life of Ruanda.

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1. Baumann, O., *Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle* [Through the Land of the Masai to the Source of the Nile] (Berlin, 1894), p. 84.

674 686 Since people are constantly passing goods received from another person to their clients (bagaragu), affairs of indebtedness become so complicated that it is difficult to keep the whole matter straight. Since the Batutsi are primarily the ones who grant and collect, however, it is customary to speak of theft (kwiba) only in connection with the Bahutu. In the case of the Batutsi one speaks of plundering, of collecting (kuambura). Nevertheless, if a Mututsi steals from another Mututsi and cannot prove that he is merely collecting his own property, he is treated like a thief.

685 When a thief is caught, his arms are tied so that the elbows are as close together as possible, [278] which is very painful. He is kept waiting thus until his relatives ransom him. The amount they must pay for his release is, as a rule, double the value of the stolen article. Sometimes this is increased to five times the value. Half of this goes to the injured party, the other half to those who helped him catch the thief. This portion usually consists of beer (nzoga). Since the injured person frequently retrieves his goods with the help of the chief, the latter keeps the second half of the ransom. This always happens in the case of stolen cows, for example. These cases border on out-and-out brigandage and can only be tracked down with the help of the chiefs. If the ransom is not paid, the thief himself is punished. He can even be slain. If the thief belongs to a powerful clan, however, there is no rush to murder him, especially because of the fear blood revenge. If there is no fear of the thief's family, however, various punishments are given. Sometimes the criminal is tied to two posts and left to starve to death and to be consumed by birds of prey or even impaled. Ordinary thieves who have not stolen cows are not so severely punished. If the death penalty is to be administered, the criminal's arms are tied, and he is thrown into the water. Ordinarily it is enough to cut off the criminal's ears. This punishment is said to have been the favorite one of Musinga's father, the great Lwabugiri Kigeri. In former times this was not considered enough, and one hand was also cut off.

A captured Mututsi who is not ransomed by his family can allegedly be killed only with the consent of the mutware, who in this manner takes the responsibility upon himself. In fact, the Bahutu are reluctant to punish the Batutsi of southern Ruanda.

685 [3671] except through the mediation of the chiefs. They try to pay them back by thievery. Parents try to teach their children not to steal by burning their fingers.

684 Crimes against established morals are also severely punished in Ruanda, although it is commonly maintained that these punishments are being mitigated. Formerly seduced girls of Kissaka, as well as their seducers had to pay with their lives. They were either thrown into the water or hanged from the roof of the hut above the burning hearth. At the present time the severest punishment is to banish the girl.

681 The official death penalty in Ruanda is to break the criminal's neck (kuhotora) or to impale him. In Lwabugiri's day, when the death penalty was more frequently administered, it is said that criminals were also thrown into the swamp with their arms and legs cut off. However, among the skulls collected by my men in Nyanza, in the swamp into which executed criminals were thrown, [279] there were some that showed traces of blows from a bush knife.

In the kuhotora type of execution, the head is put between two pieces of wood and twisted back with this leverage device.

The royal executioner, the Mutwa Muhenehene, is said to kill the king's victims with a spear.

The bodies of those executed in Nyanza are allegedly given to the king's dogs to devour.

The impaled criminal whom Dr. A. Römer had an opportunity to observe was tied between two bamboo sticks running the length of the body, one in front, the other behind. His hands were tied together in front. A stake three or four centimeters thick ran through his body from the perineum to the cranium, without injuring the neck externally. The corpse had no lower leg bones. It was already so decomposed that one could not tell whether these bones had been picked off by hyenas or chopped off by the executioner. The natives who were questioned were not in agreement about this. Dr. Kandt (1) gives the word kuvamba for impaling.

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1. Kandt, R., "an account of his travels and research in Ruanda in Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1901, p. 120.

681 Punishment by whipping seems to be done less in Ruanda than in Bgisha where the chief ties people to trees and has them punished with up to 100 strokes of the whip on their backs. This [177] custom is said to have been borrowed from the English Askari who were stationed there.

On the subject of property rights we wish to make only a 423 few general remarks. The entire country is the private property 428 of the king and is regarded as either entrusted to the chiefs or granted to the clans. All the farmers and herdsmen are merely tenants or have the use of the land. As a consequence, the chief and clan community have the final word in matters dealing with the inheritance of usufruct of so-called crown property, that is, fields and cattle.

Only household goods, with the exception of cows, are private 422 property in our sense, and here the wish of the person disposing of 428 the property is decisive, although certain time-honored customs cannot be circumvented. In Bugoye, for example, the oldest son gets the spear and the stool of his father, whereas the shield belongs to the youngest son. (2) Lieutenant Spiltoire told me that in Bunyabungu, the principal heir seems to be the son of the sister, but because of his brief visit, he could not verify this.

692 *Administration of Justice*. In Ruanda the administration of 695 justice is in the hands of the chiefs and the king.

Pronouncing judgment is only of secondary importance, but [280] the chiefs regard it as a sure means of gaining influence. The two parties regard the trial as an attempt to interest a powerful one -- a chief -- in their affairs, that is to say, to make their affairs the affairs of the mighty. The one who wins a case is simply the one who was more highly regarded by the chief and with whom, from now on, it is dangerous to quarrel. In Ruanda it is a long process from the pronouncement of justice to the execution of it.

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2. Classe, Father, *Moeurs et Coutumes des Bagoye* [Manners and Customs of the Bugoye] (Les Missions Catholiques, 1905), p. 439.

692 695 The verdict means that the judge, not the state, has taken a certain stand. The state, even in principle, does not represent abstract justice. In order to carry out the verdict, one must have sufficient power, either in his own right or through his allies; otherwise it would be impossible to take any action that would be unpleasant for others.

692 In the communities the administration of justice is in the hands of the subchiefs. A person who is dissatisfied with their verdict may consult his high chief. I have heard that the common man may appeal to the king, but from other reports this seems to me quite improbable. This right can have no practical significance for the common man, if indeed it exists. He could not incur the displeasure of the nearest small potentates with whom he has primarily to deal. Going directly to the king means not only a demonstration of distrust toward one's nearest superior, but it also represents an attempt to free oneself from the hierarchy of subordination and make oneself directly subordinate to the king.

692 431 For the clients (bagaragu) of the king, the royal court is the first and also the final authority. There is no other recourse, except to the force of arms, provided one dares to revolt. Hence higher authority always takes action, but it also takes into account general peace and order and is not guided by abstract principles of justice. Moreover, gifts to the judge play an important part and are not regarded as something punishable or even inappropriate. The parties regard these gifts as court fees, even though larger gifts are usually combined with greater hopes for the favorable outcome of the trial. The size of the gifts does not seem to be fixed. In important cases large presents are given. Not infrequently the judge is even presented with a cow.

692 Although trials before the king do not often occur, nevertheless all over Ruanda one hears that someone has gone to Musinga regarding judicial matters. This expression stems from the fact that people go to their high chiefs who are staying at the court of Musinga in Nyanza. The trials take place in Nyanza at the compound (bilaro) of the chief concerned. For example, I met a band of people from Njaruguru who were on their way "to Musinga." On more careful investigation [281] it turned out that

692 "to Musinga" simply meant the place of his residence. The judge to whom these people were going was Rwamanwa, high chief of Njaruguru.

If the two parties have different chiefs, the trial is conducted at the compound of the more powerful one, since otherwise, because of injured vanity, he could make it impossible to carry out the verdict. If the two chiefs cannot reach an agreement, they go to a third party or to the king, who usually appoints a judge. [643] The king personally handles only the most important affairs of his bagaragu, but even that he does unwillingly.

695 The Trial. Certain forms are observed at trials. The two parties squat on the ground in front of the judge and greet him by clapping their hands. Otherwise only the king is greeted in this way. Then each in turn tells about the matter under dispute.

After the verdict of the judge, the winner immediately rises, takes some grass, and lays it at the feet of the judge in gratitude and as a token of his subservience. He then sings a song of praise in which (in Mulera, for example) he boasts about the number of enemies he has killed.

People sometimes wait in Nyanza two or three months for a trial, and finally the hearing is postponed until the next year. The chiefs do this also. They are afraid of endangering themselves by a sentence of incalculable scope.

696 Executing a sentence is the weak side of primitive justice. There is no organ of the government that would attend to the execution of the decree. Even the decisions of the king are by no means always carried out.

Sometimes, to ensure the execution of the sentence, the guilty party is held prisoner by the winning party until he has fulfilled his obligations.

The sentence is said to be carried out at the place of residence of the two parties. For this purpose the king sends a special messenger. He must inform the population of the decision, in disputes about land he must mark out the sections, and in cases involving cattle, divide up the herds.

Because of the long duration of these cases, which gives all the court schemers an opportunity to fish in troubled waters, the winning party sometimes leaves the capital before the king's

696 messenger has been dispatched. In that case the other party travels with the messenger in order to bribe him. It is not uncommon for the messenger to accept large gifts from both parties and then not do anything. The high chiefs use this opportunity to visit their lands. The case is adjourned; new, important circumstances are discovered that have not yet been considered; and the proceedings begin all over again.

691 [282] At the time of my visit in Mulera the legal dispute between the Barashi chief, Lukara lwa Bishingwe, and Luhanga, the client of Nshohozamigo, was in its fourth year. Each year sentence was pronounced; each year the court messenger was sent off; and each year the two parties returned. In the end Musinga grew tired of the whole affair and kept Lukara at court. After Lukara had obtained permission from Musinga to return home, on the pretense of conducting me to Mulera, he decided to resort to the final argument, to warfare. He attacked Luhanga's people and engaged in a skirmish with the column of my expedition colleague, the geologist E.F. Kirschstein, whose presence the Batutsi tried to use for their protection.

In the end, in its seventh year, the dispute was settled in Luhanga's favor when Lukara was obliged to flee from the German sphere of influence for his murder of the missionary, Father Paul Loupias. Later he was captured and hanged.

A considerable number of trials deal with the withdrawing of grants and the practice of blood revenge (kuhora enzigo) for slain clan members.

If A is granted a cow by B, B has a certain power over A. He can exert pressure on A by threatening to take back the cow. If A, however, also gets cows from C, who is more powerful than B, the latter's influence diminishes. In some cases A becomes so dependent on C that B loses his influence and moreover his cattle in favor of C. These property shifts give rise to vastly complicated suits over cattle that last for decades and become more and more complicated by small compromises, the legality of which is later challenged.

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426
686 In civil cases we find the institution of kugombeka. If A is indebted to B and does not pay him or refuses to return something granted him and now demanded back, A can be distrained. If

691 426 686 debtor A owns something that is being used by C, a cow, for example, then B can bring C a present and, with C's permission, declare the object belonging to A as *kugombeka*. In this case A loses all rights to the object he has deposited with C until he has settled his debt, and the object is now regarded as B's property. If A is powerful, the *kugombeka* of his property is declared void. If he is not influential, this becomes a very profitable business. In view of the duration of the suits, C always has the prospect of being able to appropriate the thing that has been put in his charge or at least of using it without incurring obligation. But under the rules of *kugombeka* he is responsible to B for the object. If he gives it back to its original owner A, he must replace its value to B or [283] owe it to him, and this starts a second suit between B and C which is separate from that between A and B.

426 686 If the users of A's property refuse to accept *kugombeka*, the creditor can only resort to *kufatira*.

Kufatira is the confiscation of part of the property of an individual whom one wishes to force to defray his debt or to meet his responsibilities. *Kufatira* is also used to force someone to appear at a trial. The use of force is conceded in the case of *kufatira*, but otherwise infringement of property rights and the use of violence are basically regarded as punishable offenses.

Kufatira can be used successfully only against weaker debtors. If the debtor is very weak, he can even be plundered and bound with a rope until his family takes mercy on him and ransoms him. If, however, the debtor is powerful, *kufatira* can have all the consequences of a lost war, and there is no recourse but to make one's concern the concern of stronger protectors.

685 In cases of theft, the procedure is considerably simpler, and the judge receives no presents.

695 *Evidence*. The testimony of witnesses is very important in court trials in Ruanda. The accused has the right to demand witnesses to prove his guilt, but he also has the right to eliminate the testimony of certain witnesses if he has convincing reasons. Such witnesses are, for example, relatives, blood brothers, and clients (*bagaragu*) of the accuser. The accuser is obliged to comply

695 with this and to secure witnesses who are not dependent on him.

695 431 A witness may refuse to testify. In order to dissuade him from making use of this right, he is given presents by the one who wishes him to testify.

Gifts to witnesses are no secret. They are regarded as something quite natural, a sort of compensation for the unpleasantness that may result from testifying. That is why one often hears of a witness delaying his testimony for a few days in order to give people a chance to bring him presents or saying that he will testify after he has received his nzoga. In this case nzoga does not mean merely beer, but all kinds of presents, such as goats, hoes, or even cows, depending on the importance of the case.

695 687 In spite of the custom of giving presents to witnesses, false testimony is punishable. Thus, it is said that Lwabugiri Kigeri, for example, who was strict but just, simply had false witnesses killed.

695 [284] Court procedure in Ruanda allows the accused and the witness to swear oaths. At trials the following form of oath is used. The person taking the oath sticks his spear into the ground and says: "May this spear kill me if I did this." This way of taking an oath is called kuchulika ichuma. This form of oath is feared.
[687] Perjury was punished with death in Lwabugiri's time.

In this connection we must also mention the forms of allegation which are used, for example, when witnesses testify. The one corresponding to the form of oath given above consists of pointing to one's spear and saying, "dakolitera Musinga." This brief statement means "if that is not true, I shall pierce the king with this spear." Connected to this is another form: "bandoga Musinga (I shall poison Musinga if this is not true)." This form is also used if one wishes to assure the king that what one has said is true. Thus, for example, Musinga asked a man whether he had seen Kabare, "wabonye Kabare?" The man answered in the affirmative, "yee." The king did not believe it and wanted to make sure, "nukuli." The man thereupon answered, "bandoga Musinga," and the matter was settled. If one doubts the truth of a person's statement, he may also say, "lahira (swear)." The person then answers, "bandoga Musinga."

695 The last two allegations imply that sad consequences could result if a person expresses intentions that are hostile to the king. The person making the statement publicly announces that if he told a lie he would willingly suffer persecution for threatening the sacred person of the king. Nevertheless, the Batutsi, who could probably set a record for lying, use this phrase constantly.

In doubtful cases where the testimony of witnesses is not at hand or is not sufficiently credible, as well as in cases where the use of sorcery is suspected, the poison test (*kihango*) is resorted to. The poison test is conducted by the *babandwa* [members of secret societies who conduct ceremonies].

In Kissaka the poison is dissolved in water and handed to both parties in two cow horns. This gives the *mubandwa* an opportunity to influence the outcome directly and to use his own judgment in determining the guilty one. Although this makes it very easy for a person to misuse the poison test, the people of Kissaka be-
[797] lieve in it. Even the Christians do, in spite of the otherwise very great influence of the mission. The poison test seldom results in death in Ruanda, for the person taking it can immediately spit and vomit. The poison is not always drunk, for not infrequently the *mubandwa* is satisfied to dip his thumb into the poison and stick it into the mouth of the person, who may immediately expectorate. In such cases the effect is purely a psychological one. [285] Father L. Classe, who lived in the country seven years, never heard of a death caused by the poison test.

Another very important form of evidence is testimony from the entrails of chickens killed for this purpose. We shall discuss this somewhat more fully below in connection with religious practices.

Quite independent of the chicken oracle, there is a chick oracle that is conducted in the following way. The accused takes a very small chick and carries it in his hand a whole day. If
[822] the chick dies, the man is guilty, *yiera bura* (he is black). If the chick does not die, the man is innocent, *yeira* [sic] *bwera* (he is white). A very strange color association for the Negro world (see page 145).

All forms of evidence and allegation, such as the poison test, the chicken oracle, the spear oath, and the Musinga oath, are

695 referred to simply as kushoko, "drinking." This fact indicates that the poison test was the oldest form. To give a person this test is called kushora which simply means "to give a drink." Thus they say: "Umututsi ashora inka ze (the Mututsi gives his cows a drink)," as well as "kushora ikihango (to drink poison)" and "kushora (literally, to drink a chicken)."

[286] Chapter 14

History and Chronology

173 Ruanda. I had great difficulty in obtaining data about the history of Ruanda. Oral tradition in the interlacustrine region is limited chiefly to the genealogy of the rulers. This basic skeleton is also generally supplemented by a few statements about the chief events of the corresponding epochs. My informants, however, knew little about the history of the dynasty, since most of them were Bahutu.

124 Musinga gave Captain W. Von Grawert, who introduced me to him, his royal promise that he would have reports made to me on the history of the country or even tell me about it himself. [187] The chicken oracle, however, said that the king would suffer harm if I were initiated in the history of the country. The next time I visited Musinga and tried to have certain contradictions in my notes on the Ruanda rulers cleared up by this authoritative source, I was kept dangling for two and a half hours and was unsuccessful. His Black Majesty was very pleasant, but during the whole time he kept practicing, in German, the meaningless sentence, "Little spear is pretty."

Musinga wanted to please me by demonstrating his zeal in learning the German language and in this way divert my attention from interviewing him.

173 It seems that in Ruanda as well as In Nkole one may not speak [715] about deceased kings with the uninitiated, for the spirits, disturbed in their rest, might avenge themselves. However, people [52] talk about olden times in the evening when the nobility gather with the king, pay court to him, and drink beer. They know

173 their history, but they regard it as a hallowed secret of the
Batutsi which belongs to the category of ibanga [secrets].

Father F. Dufays and Father P. Loupias succeeded in learning
173 about one of the traditions of ancient times from a Mututsi whom
114 I personally know very well but whose name I must withhold out of
consideration for his own safety. The man clashed with his fellow
tribesmen [287] and told his story to the missionaries to express
his gratitude for their protection.

According to this story, human beings in former times lived
173 in heaven as well as on the earth. The children of Nyina Kigwa,
173 Kigwa, Lututsi, and their sister, Nyina Batutsi, were cast out
from heaven as a punishment for their mother's loquacity. They fell to earth in Bugansa, Ruanda, and discovered the following Bahutu families in the country: the Basinga, Bagessera, and Bazigaba. In the forest they found the Batwa. The Bahutu and Batwa had been expelled from heaven before them. The new immigrants brought fire, agriculture (hoe culture), cattle raising, and industry (iron technique). In this way they gained influence, and Kigwa became the ruler of Ruanda. Kigwa married his sister, Nyina Batutsi, and became the protoplast of the Banieginia who are descended from his three sons and still rule Ruanda. Lututsi emigrated to Karagwe and married one of Kigwa's three daughters. He became the protoplast of the Bega who supply the kings of Ruanda with wives and mothers who are their peers. Kigwa and his descendants kept in touch with heaven through Batabazi redeemers, who came to their aid in times of great need. There are three chief Batabazi mentioned. The first protected the children of Nyina Batutsi and brought animals to Ruanda; the second was Kihana, son of King Ndahiro; and the third, Kyamweru, was the son of King Luzugira Iwijuru.

This tradition contains some details of Christian legends, which
[177] we shall not go into here. Its origin will probably be determined
some day, but at present it is a mystery. However, the statement that the children of Nyina Kigwa (referring doubtless to the Batutsi) brought fire and hoe culture into the country can be written off as historically incorrect. In any case, it is certain that this story tells us about the settling of the Batutsi in Ruanda and the establishment of their rule in Bugansa, and that at this time Bagessera,

173 Basinga, and Bazigaba were already settled in the land and
173 Batwa were roaming the forests. In other words, conditions then were much the same as they are now in Mulera.

Dr. Kandt's report (1) about the ancient history of the country is somewhat different. "When the first human being lived in Ruanda with his five sons, Kitussi, Kitwa, Kinjabungu, etc., Kitwa killed one of his brothers out of jealousy. At first the father wanted to kill him for this, but hesitated because he was his own flesh and blood. So he sent him into the wilderness with the curse that all his descendants were to dwell among the descendants of the other sons as pariahs."

Here, in contrast to the tradition mentioned earlier, we find no references to the fact that the Batutsi immigrated at a later time. [288] Moreover, the representatives of all the tribes are referred to as descendants of the same ancestors. This is probably the best proof that the account has little historical significance.

173 Let us now turn to more accurate accounts about the Ruanda state. In my inquiries into the history of the state I succeeded in getting data that may be summarized in the following list of rulers. However, we must admit that the individual sources were sometimes very contradictory. For this reason further investigation is needed before a definite genealogy can be given. There is always the possibility that some of the succession of rulers listed here may be brothers, but usually collateral descendants of former times are forgotten.

The rulers of Ruanda are:

1. Kigwa.
2. Nyeranda.
3. Kadji.
4. Muntu.
5. Kihanga.
6. Ndoba.
7. Ndore I.
8. Ndahiro I or Dabarasa.
9. Ruganzu or Luzugira. (Kihana).

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1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 302.

173

10. Lumazimpaka. (Kyamweru).
11. Mibambwe I.
12. Juhi I.
13. Lugazu, son of Nyina Bachuzi.
14. Mibambwe II.
15. Chilima I.
16. Ruganzurwa, son of Nyina Bunyana.
17. Kigeri I.
18. Mibambwe III.
19. Juhi II.
20. Chilima II or Rugwe.
21. Ndahiro II.
22. Ruganzu.
23. Chilima cha Kasseke.
24. Ndore II. Kahindiro Mibambwe IV.
25. Mutara Lwogera.
26. Lwabugiri Kigeri II.
27. Mibambwe V. Juhi III or Musinga.

174 [289] Aside from this list of rulers, I was able to find out little about the history, but if we consider the large number of rulers, as well as the fact that among the revered spirits of the country the kin group Ndaula plays a subordinate role, we come to the probable conclusion that Ruanda has no connection with the states in the southern half of the Runyoro territory. After all, only Kissaka (not Ruanda) is mentioned in connection with the expedition of Ruhinda. On the other hand, the fact that Kagoro, Mugasha, and Wamara are mentioned in the religion of Ruanda, leads us to conclude that there are connections with the old Bunyoro state and the Bachwezi dynasty. According to the number of rulers Ruanda has had, we may trace the founding of the dynasty back to the fifteenth century. We therefore ask ourselves whether the founding of the Ruanda state does not stand in the same relation to the immigration of the Baganda into the interlacustrine region as the founding of Busindja, Karagwe, and Buhaya stands to the immigration of the Babito into Bunyoro. For it is not impossible that the rulers in the northern part of the interlacustrine region, whose peace was disturbed by the Baganda, in turn founded new states in the south.

174 Ruanda, which originally covered the district of Bugansa south of Lake Mohasi, was later, in the course of a long period of time, limited to the province of Nduga. It must have been a long time ago, however, since Ruanda outgrew these circumscribed boundaries, for Mukinjaga and Mulera as well have traditions that go back to the rule of Ruganzu, and these provinces certainly did not belong to the original ones. The last Ruganzu is Musinga's fifth ancestor and probably ruled in the first years of the last century. This leads us to assume that the large kingdom of Ruanda is not a newly formed state of the last century, but has a long history.

The legend referring to this is somewhat as follows.

173 Once upon a time Ruganzu came to the Muhawura volcano to hunt elephants. Suddenly the news comes to him that the Barundi have crossed the southern border of his kingdom. He abandons the hunt and goes forth to meet the enemy. On the way he stops on a hill to rest. After a brief interval he continues the journey in his litter (ngobi). After the company had got under way, someone noticed that the king had left his spear on the hill. They shouted back to the hill, asking the people to return the spear that had been left behind. The Balera replied that the king had left them the spear, and if he wanted it back, he should come to get it himself. Whereupon the king answered: "If you had stolen food, I should have believed that you are hungry; if you had stolen cows, I should assume that you want to own them. But to steal a spear, [290] what can it bring you? Let it remain with you, multiply, and strike you dead." That is why there is always fighting in Mulera. The royal curse is upon the land.

In Mukinjaga they say about Ruganzu that he put the bimara tax on the region of Bukunzi as a punishment for the theft of his cows.

173 643 Ruganzu lwa Ndahiro (Ruganzu, son of Ndahiro) is the king about whom there are the most legends in Ruanda. He is said to have had supernatural power, and people believe that he might one day return. When, in the year 1904, the news spread that the imperial resident at Usumbura had been murdered, the natives said that Ruganzu had killed him.

175 643 Mutara Lwogera was also a successful warrior. He conquered Bugoye and in 1876 added Kissaka to Ruanda by force of arms.

Lwabugiri Kigeri who was visited by Count Von Götzen, the first European to do so, was also a very belligerent ruler. He increased Ruanda's possessions in the Rutshuru Basin as far as Lake Edward.

175 643 661 In order to characterize the personality of Lwabugiri somewhat more exactly, we must mention that one of his chief delights was stealing cows. If the owner of the cattle resisted, he was punished with confiscation for having the boldness to act against the muami [ruler]. If he did not resist, his cows, which he had learned to conceal, were simply taken away from him. These cow thefts with which Lwabugiri consciously promoted the splitting up of feudal possessions, as well as the constant wars, made him very troublesome to the Batutsi.

175 643 Without doubt the rule of Lwabugiri was a period of great expansion and glory for Ruanda. The state enjoyed such a high reputation that neither the Arabs nor Stanley and Emin Pasha ventured to enter it. Lwabugiri undertook numerous campaigns, among them an unsuccessful one to Nkole (1891?). He wanted to get King Ntare's cows in order to supplement his own herds which had been very much decimated by disease. He waged war three times with Urundi, twice with Idjwi Island, three times against Bunyabungu, and twice with Kissaka. Moreover, he laid waste the country of Mulera three times in order to punish rebellious subjects, and he pillaged the Gana Mukari (1) three times in his ancestral province because of the revolt which was supposed to have taken place there. He was unsuccessful in his expeditions against Urundi. The two kings, Lwabugiri and Mwezi Kisabo (?), made peace with each other and built their settlements on the border between the two states, on the Akanjaru. The wars with the inhabitants of Idjwi Island were also only temporarily successful.

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[113] 1. Brard, A., "Skizzen aus Ruanda [Ruanda Sketches]," Afrikabote, 1900-1901, p. 99.

[291] Dr. Kandt (1) says that Idjwi belongs to the Ruanda sphere of influence. Its inhabitants deny that they were former subjects of Ruanda, as the Banyaruanda maintain. Mihiggo's grandfather, Mwendo, had to pay tribute to Ruanda. His son, Kaweggo, tried to make himself independent, but Lwabugiri fought him (1886) and he had to flee to the island of Ugishushu. He was betrayed by his son, Nkudie, and fell into the hands of Kigeri who had him executed. After the king returned (1888), having been called back by unrest in Ruanda, the independent party formed around Mihiggo, another son, for Nkudie was executed by the king because he had betrayed his father. After a few years (1892 or 1893) Lwabugiri undertook a second expedition against Idjwi. The island was again conquered, and Mihiggo fled to Bunyabungu. In order to punish Bunyabungu for sheltering Mihiggo, Kigeri set out on an expedition against this country, but he became ill and died. With his death, the hour of liberation came for Idjwi, and Mihiggo returned as an independent ruler (1894).

The dying King Lwabugiri was brought back to Ruanda and died en route in Mukinjaga. It is said that he was poisoned by his courtiers who were tired of the endless wars. Not all of them were like the Batwa who were devoted to the king and regarded the wars as the best opportunity to consume a great deal of meat. Some accounts have it that the poison was prepared by his wife, Kanzogera, the mother of Musinga.

Lwabugiri pursued centralistic tendencies in his internal policy. It is said that he was credited with having broken up the large hereditary chieftainships and interspersed them territorially. This was probably the cause of the war with the later regent, Kabare, who allegedly was castrated, as well as the death of Kigeri. According to one version, Kabare was castrated by Lwabugiri in order to make it impossible for this ambitious man to try to become king. Another version has it that the young Kabare was caught with the favorite wife of the king and was punished for this. In revenge

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili
(Berlin, 1904), pp. 517-518.

175 643 Kabare is said to have killed all of Lwabugiri's sons except Musinga, the son of his sister Kanzogera, after their mighty father died. These accounts agree with a note by Von Beringe (2) referring to [113] Mumusa, the queen of Mururwa in Mpororo: "Mhumse claimed that she was a wife of the deceased Sultan Lwabugiri of Ruanda and that she was sent here by him to escape the persecution of Chief Kawalle who [292] killed four of his sons. However, there is no longer any connection between Mhumse and Ruanda."

Mibambwe who was temporarily proclaimed king after the death of Lwabugiri was burned to death in his hut along with his entire family (1). Most of his brothers died also. Only Ishirangabo, however, was not considered for the rulership because he was a man dedicated to the spirit Ryangombe. Bilegea, a son of Lwabugiri, was missing from the time of his youth and was always regarded as a possible, dangerous pretender to the throne. His return to the country was very much feared by the rulers. (2)

Musinga, whose father had cast him out, was taken in by a Muhutu and reared by him. It was only because no other son of Lwabugiri came to be considered that the neglected son of Kanzogera was appointed king. He ascended the throne as Juhi Musinga. As a result of his plebeian upbringing, the king had learned to eat goat's meat. This custom is said to have been adopted by the court Batutsi out of courtesy.

175 643 648 This fact would probably have caused the young ruler great difficulties if it had not happened that three years after the death

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2. Beringe, Captain Von, a report on his journeys in the region of the Kirunga volcanoes, Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1901, p. 39.

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 263.

Ibid., p. 264.

175 of Lwabugiri Captain Ramsay came to the country in 1897.
643 Musinga was recognized as the ruler. Captain Ramsay entered
648 into a special pact of blood brotherhood with him or at least with the man that was introduced to him as Musinga. (3) He reports:

[113] 3. Ramsay, Captain, an account of his expeditions to Ruanda and Lake Rikwa, Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Vol. 25 (1898), p. 315.

"Thereupon I had to tie a string around Juhi, and he tied several strings around me; then we shook hands vigorously, and the king of Ruanda and I became blood brothers."

Since that time Musinga has been energetically supported by the government, which, through him, again has the entire country in hand. Musinga has at his disposal the Askari of the guard troops who in an emergency can teach his rebels a lesson. I had occasion to observe this in 1907 in Mulera. With the intervention of this new factor, the country has become orderly to an extent that formerly did not seem possible.

173 Kissaka. The history of Kissaka cannot be traced as far back as that of Ruanda.

Banyakissaka traditions about ancient times say that they, like the Banyoro and Baganda, came from the north, not from the south, like the Wasukuma.

[293] Kissaka has been a state since very ancient times. According to Busindja (1) tradition, the Kissaka rulers were Basinga.

[113] 1. Van Thiele, Father H., "Businza unter der Dynastie der Bahinda [Businza under the Bahinda Dynasty]," Anthropos, 1911, p. 499.

One of these rulers was married to Nyakachende, the daughter of Ruhinda, and she bore him a successor. From then on the rulers of Kissaka were referred to as Bayango of Ruhinda.

This family must have lost its possessions later on, since the last Kissaka rulers, I was told, were Bagessera, in other words, not true Batutsi either.

I was told that Kimeni Ruahasha was the first ruler of Kissaka. I was unable to find out who his immediate successors were and how many there were. Except for this gap, we have been able to determine the following list of successive rulers.

Kimeni Ruahasha
?
Vunengoma
|
Mutaga
|
Kwezi
|
Luregeya
|
Bazimye
|
Kimeni II
|
Lugeyyo } Pretenders
|
Lukura } Lukura lives with Kahigi

Kimeni II with his son, Msongole, was defeated and murdered by Musinga's grandfather, Lwogera, about the year 1876. Since that time Kissaka has been a part of Ruanda. Msongole's son, Wagazo, however, remained in the country as a subchief of the new king and was still in office 20 years later at the time of Ramsay's expedition (2).

Ramsay, Captain, an account of his expeditions to Ruanda and Lake Rikwa, *Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, Vol. 25 (1898), p. 310.

The Banyakissaka would not yield to their fate, and the entire country, Batutsi as well as Bahutu, strove for independence. Lwabugiri Kigeri, Musinga's father, undertook two expeditions to Kissaka in order to strengthen Ruanda rule. In 1901 Kissaka made a final effort to win independence from Ruanda by force.

[294] Lukura, grandson of the defeated Kimeni II, son of Lugeyyo (according to Dr. Kandt, son of Wantschurra (1)), decided to take advantage of Kissaka's discontent with the Ruanda regime. He came to Kissaka from Kyanja where he had been the guest of Kahigi. The people and the Batutsi declared him their ruler, but he soon had to flee because Musinga undertook a military campaign, supported by the [military] station in Usumbura. The leader of Lukura's followers, Mpumbika, was exiled to Urundi where he was still living with Chief Muhini in 1907. Mpumbika, like Lukura, belongs to the Bagessera clan.

After this revolt, the old batware (subchiefs) were dismissed, and the country was put under the administration of three Ruanda chiefs, Kanuma, Niamutezi, and Lutangabo. The gradual replacement of the subchiefs by Banyaruanda (people from Ruanda) did not contribute to a lessening of discontent with the Ruanda regime.

Bugoye. Unlike Kissaka, Bugoye has no history. People only know that the country was conquered by Mutara Lwogera (2), who drove the chief of the country, Mvunye, to Bunyabungu. It is also known that the country was settled only a few generations ago. The very old people maintain that it was their grandfathers who cleared the wooded country which was unpopulated except for

1. Kandt, R., a report on his research in Ruanda, Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1901, p. 122.

2. Beringe, Captain Von, a report on his journeys in the region of the Kirunga volcanoes, Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1901, p. 34.

173 some Batwa living there. The Batwa were in part driven out, in part assimilated. The latter are known as Batwa bikyugu "Batwa of the inhabited land." Very many colonists came from Kishari and Kameronse, regions north of Lake Kivu. They were driven out of their homes by raids of the cannibalistic Balioko, probably Manyema, or perhaps also of the Babira who were driven out by the Manyema. To this emigration we can probably attribute latent traces of Bakondjo in Bugoye. Besides this wave, the Bambari clan from Ndorwa came to Bugoye, as well as the Bagwabiro from the region of Ischangi on the southern shore of Lake Kivu. The latter are impoverished Batutsi who till fields and own but few cows.

805 Chronology. Time in Ruanda is divided into years, seasons, months (moons), and weeks. The weeks have only five or six days. Thanks to the kindness of Father Buisson, I can herewith give the names of the months used in Kissaka and Ussuwi, opposite he Mulera calendar. The data on Nkole have been taken from Meldon (3). [295]

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[113] 3. Meldon, "Notes on the Bahima of Nkole," Journal of the African Society, 1907, p. 137.

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Mulera	Ussuwi	Kissaka	Nkole
I. Kwakira, pea harvest, begin[illegible] hoeing for millet	Kimguru	Kashantare	Biruru
II. Mutarama, millet sowing	Kakire	Werurwe	Kata
III. Werurwe, weeding millet fields	Mahingo	Kichurasi	Katumba
IV. Mata, sowing green peas (nyagasha)	Ruwoza	Kamena	Ikoma
V. Kichurasi, sowing peas	Muhiranguzu	Nyakanga	Chabahezi
VI. Kamena, one hopes to have plenty to eat soon	Rweru	Katumba	Nyerurue

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Mulera	Ussuwi	Kissaka	Nkole
VII. Nyakanga, begin millet harvest	Nyamatarugara	Itumba	Kichurasi
VIII. Itumba, main harvest	Nyairira	Nsenene	Kamena
IX. Katumba, begin hoeing for peas	Mumereze	Nkereza	Nyakanga
X. Nseri, hoeing peas	Kisua	Kushingwo	Kashua
XI. Kushingwo, weeding peas	Nsenene	Kwakira	Musenene
XII. Kaboza, planting gourds	Kibuika	Kuwoza	Itumba

The Mulera calendar is about two months behind the Kissaka calendar because the names of the months are bound up with the activities of the farmers and weather and pasture conditions. The various field chores are done two months later in the more northerly mountains of Mulera. Similarly, the Nkole calendar is two months behind Mulera because it is still farther north.

For the various proper and common names given the individual months, I succeeded in obtaining the following explanations.

Itumba nyakime: itumba of the possessor of dew.

Katumba kanama: kanama is derived from the verb kwanama, meaning "to stay in one place"; this month is very warm and one hates to move.

Nyakanga mabuguma: the one hating old cows (mabuguma); the pastures are dried up and old cows die in this month.

Kaboza kabozabihaza: gourds rot because of too much precipitation.

Mata: literally, "milk," or really, "milk month"; the pastures are lush, and there is a great abundance of milk.

During the months of ntumba, katumba, and nseri, huts are built. The millet straw is ripe, and the grass is at its tallest. At the end of nseri everything must be finished, for the rainy season begins.

805 In katumba the people begin burning off the grass on the
221 hills.

Most of the weddings take place in nseri, because much beer can be brewed in this month. For the same reason, most fights occur then.

132 There are three seasons in Kissaka.

805 [296] I. Itumba, the great rainy season extending from March to May.

II. Ichanda, the great dry season from June to October.

III. Ruhira, the secondary rainy season from November to January and sometimes February.

The secondary dry season in February does not seem to have a special name.

805 Father C. Lecoindre told me that he had the impression there were 13 months in the Ruanda year and pointed out that on my list the month of kashantare between mutarama and werurwe was not shown.

The art of chronology is only slightly developed in Ruanda, and the Bahutu seem essentially to know only the periods for certain field chores, to which they give special names, for example:

Itumba ya massaka (in the autumn),
Itumba lyi bishimbo,

or solar time:

Rugaryi (little sun),
Itsi (big sun).

644 On the other hand, life in Musinga's royal residence, at
805 least the arrival of fresh drum guards with the new moon, is regulated by the lunar division of the year, and Father C. Lecoindre's observation seems to have many points in its favor. For example, it is said that at the court of the king there is mourning during the
[834] first half of the month kichurasi. During this time men allegedly have no sexual intercourse with women. The drums at the king's court are beaten only once around 11 o'clock to greet (ndamutsu) the king; they are said to be tied up (kuzirika). The Batwa do not entertain the king with their songs during the evening gatherings. The king pronounces no sentences and accepts no presents. At ordinary law proceedings the victorious party neither sings his song

644 805 of praise nor boasts about his deeds and the number of enemies he has slain. During kichurasi they content themselves with simple clapping (kukoma mukono). People do not wear their better clothing or ornaments. Even the bulls are removed from the herds. All life that has its beginning during this period is regarded as unclean and is killed. [783]

The period of mourning ends with the kichurasi full moon. [533] They begin to beat the drums, very softly and very little on the first day, somewhat more on the second, until on the third day the regular beating is resumed. On the eleventh day the chiefs bring the king presents, get drunk on beer, and sacrifice sterile cows.

796 644 The end of the month of kichurasi is celebrated with a great feast for which the ntore gather at court. The feast is called kukura kichurasi. [297] I could not determine whether this feast has any connection with the myth about the redeemer (mutabazi).

This is the time of the great ceremonies of the babandwa and of sacrifices (kuterekera).

805 The lunar month is divided up according to the phases of the moon. Thus they speak of: imboneko, "emerging moon"; kwezi, "waxing moon"; inzoro, "full moon"; mizima, "waning moon"; imfunda, "disappearing moon." These designations, however, do not correspond to the weeks. The weeks have five to six days and are determined by the relationship of free days to compulsory work days.

[298] Chapter 15

Religion and Related Matters

771 **Ancestor Worship.** The religious views of the Banyaruanda do not fit into a compact, harmonious system. This is probably due not only to the low level of development of their religion, but also to the dissimilarity of the Batutsi and Bahutu cultures which have influenced each other.

769 17 Ancestor worship is the basis of religious beliefs in Ruanda as well as in the rest of the interlacustrine region.

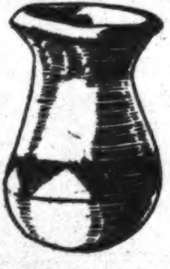
769 The bazimu, the spirits of the dead, are feared. They are not good. They are responsible for the misfortunes and torments that plague one. In Mulera, at any rate, this may be related to the well-known unfortunate position of old men.

Every father of a family offers sacrifices to his ancestors and his deceased relatives in the ndaro, the small grass huts near his compound and the place where the spirits dwell. Ndaro means "sleeping place," "resting place," and, according to Father Buisson, is derived from the verb kurara "to sleep." I should like to point out, however, the similarity between this word and ndako which in the Bangala and Ababua [Babua] dialects simply means "house." Sacrifices are also made in the sacred niche of every hut.

For sacrifices to the manes, a fire is built in front of the
782 huts and around it sticks are placed in the ground, to which are
769 fastened small bits of meat, lumps of umutsima, etc. Small vessels (imperezo) of beer are also set out. These offerings are taken from the meat and umutsima (stiff millet mush) which the sacrificer brought with him. The rest he eats himself.

[299] Offerings are also placed inside the huts. Frequently the more valuable offerings are only temporarily exposed. Later they are eaten by the family of the sacrificer. This is said to be the case when, in accordance with custom, the foreleg of a slain animal is offered for a deceased girl. This is not always true, however, for I repeatedly saw rotting forelegs of goats hanging in the ndaro. "To offer to the spirits" is called kutonora bazimu. To the spirits of one's parents the ribs and entrails of slain animals are usually offered.

[415]



775 Fig. 162. Sacrificial
823 Vessel for Beer, Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E13096. 8 centimeters high.)

Underworld. Not all the spirits of the dead remain in the vicinity of their ndaro to be taken care of by their families and to lead a peaceful existence. Many spirits, after death, live in the volcanoes, and the activity of these fire mountains is connected with them.

According to the Balera, Ryangombe is said to live in Muhawura with the souls of those who were dedicated to him in life. They constitute his court and his retinue.

At the court of Ryangombe there are not infrequently angry disputes among his retinue. Then they usually throw stones, and

775 823 sometimes large quantities of these reach the outside world. I repeatedly heard this explanation of volcanic activity. It sometimes happens, however, that Ryangombe drives spirits into the outer world as a punishment. Then they torment the living, who must make sacrifices so that Ryangombe will take the spirits back and thus free the living from molestation by these homeless.

[103] People from the region of Bobandana, whom I met on the way to Rutshuru, called Mount Nyiragongo *Kilima ya Mungu*, "Mountain of the Gods."

Lieutenant Von Parisch (1) also says that Ryangombe allegedly lived in Muhawura with his court which consists of the souls of the *babandwa* dedicated to him. Only the souls of the *nsigo*, that is, the profane and those initiated into other cults, go to Nyiragongo after death. However, he concedes that, according to other accounts, Ryangombe lives in Nyiragongo.

The volcanoes play a very important role in the supernatural world of Ruanda. Captain Von Beringe (2) mentions that the *birunga* (plural of *kirunga*, "volcano") are named after the spirits which are said to live in them, such as Sabinio, Karisimbi, Mikeno, Nyamlagira, and Gonga. The last is the oldest among them. Formerly Nyamlagira, who was later exiled, was said to have lived with him. The later event is perhaps an allusion to the recent origin of the youngest volcano in this group.

[532] [300] *Memorial Trees.* There are no pictorial representations of the dead in Ruanda. I saw no sculpture or wood carvings that referred to them.

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1. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902-1903 [Two Journeys through Ruanda 1902-03]," *Globus*, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 78.

2. Beringe, Captain Von, a report on his journeys in the region of the Kirunga volcanoes, *Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1901*, pp. 36, 37.

775 There are trees, however, that are associated with remem-
778 brance of the dead. These trees were planted either by them or
824 in connection with them, usually in the settlements. Thus, at
211 the birth of a child a fig tree is planted, which is later associated
with the person, even after his death. It seems that in these trees,
as on the hedges of abandoned settlements, spirits of the dead abide.

778 Trees are also planted in memory of historical events. Thus,
824 Dr. Kandt (1) says: "At the end of the bridge (cliff bridge of the
211 Ruzizi) there is still standing a young fig tree, an immana, a soul
tree, which was planted by Luabugiri, the former king of Ruanda, when he set out to fight against Bunjabungu which is on the right bank. There is a steep, almost perpendicular path of a few hundred meters, down which he and his warriors set out to their destruction. On the tree hang straw and metal rings, the offerings of pious wanderers, and on the bridge people point out the footprint of the king's favorite dog in the cliff and tell a legend similar to the one about the Rosstrappe [Tr., a rock in the Harz Mountains]."

With reference to another type of memorial tree which is only indirectly connected with historical personages, Dr. Kandt (2) says: "They (trees on the eastern point of the lake) are sacred because King Luabugiri camped on this spot when he set out on his campaign against Bunjabungu (1894), from which he returned to Ruanda a dying man.... The boat that carried the ruler into the war is still lying under the trees, half buried in the ground. It was hollowed out from a giant tree of the primeval forest, but now it is split down the middle, partly rotted, and disintegrating more and more each year. As I remember, it is about 18 meters long and one and a quarter meters wide."

The memorial trees looming up on the heights are very characteristic of the Ruanda landscape. They are conspicuous because they form such a contrast to the bare hilltops. Their

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1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 365.

2. Ibid., p. 504.

778 824 211 religious character was already known through Captain Hermann, and they are referred to simply as Imana trees.

It seems to be chiefly the Batutsi who venerate the memorial trees. The fig trees on the heights are most numerous and most beautiful in places where the Batutsi have the greatest power. On the other hand, it is said that sometimes at night Bahutu secretly take wood from the sacred trees. The Batwa, who fear no one and who have also preserved their independence in spiritual matters, do [301] this quite openly in the daytime, but there are not enough of them to destroy the trees and change the landscape.

776 Imana and Batabazi. In our general discussion of the interlacustrine region [not translated], we pointed out that the spirits of dead kings and rulers have a special place among the manes. They are distinguished from the undifferentiated mass of bazimu by their greater power. They are known and feared in larger circles. This is the case, for example, with the spirit of Kimeni in Kissaka. It is not impossible that from this we shall be able to explain the contrast between the rule of Ryangombe in the underworld, which seems to be patterned after the organization of Batutsi states, and the familial anarchy of the ordinary manes. However, it is doubtful whether the central figure of the Ruanda pantheon, the creator of the world, Imana, can be associated with the spirits of the dead. He probably must be considered as derived from foreign influence. Perhaps this also explains the underworld residence of the court of Ryangombe, whereas the rest of the bazimu remain with their living relatives.

776 782 Imana is the lord of lightning, thunder, and rain. One addresses him with the words: "Nabone Imana yandemie ikalema tata, na sokukuru, na sokuruza, na mukaka, na mukàkuruzu, na mama. Ikankiza, nkuko yabakidjidji! (Favor me, Imana, who created my father, and my grandfather, and the father of my grandfather, and my grandmother, and the mother of my grandmother, and my mother. He has healed me, how he has healed me!)"

No sacrifices are made to Imana. Thus, he plays no part in the cult and satisfies only, if we may so express it, a philosophical need.

776 173 Even though Imana is supposedly the creator, there are no special tales about his relation to the other powerful spirits, for example, Ryangombe. The Banyaruanda seem to have an altogether vague and indefinite idea of him. The strangest thing is the story of his appearance on earth in the form of a child who was even whiter than kaolin (*runoni*). The child had supernatural power. Among other things, he changed water into milk. Imana created the first human beings. The first man married his sister, but neither of them had a father or a mother. Imana gave them fire.

Lieutenant Von Parisch (1) listed Lugira, Lulema, and Kihanga as synonyms for Imana.

The myths about Imana seem to be less known or kept more secret, at least in Kissaka, than the stories about other spirits.

778 825 [302] Every Mututsi is said to revere a particularly sacred bull in his herd, which has a secret connection with Imana. The sacred bull of Musinga was allegedly very fierce and attacked many people. It is maintained that those who were attacked by the bull were recognized by the animal as enemies of the king. If they came through alive, they were in former times punished with death. This custom has been given up in the last three or four years, probably as the result of greater contact with Europeans, but the unfortunate ones are still in very bad repute.

778 We must not forget that the vessels containing remnants of chickens and the fat of sacrificed sheep, which the Batutsi wear around their necks, are also called "Imana."

776 173 Even more puzzling than Imana are the *batabazi* in the Ruanda pantheon. I have already mentioned them in the chapter on the history of Ruanda. Father L. Classe told me that the myth of the flood as well as the idea of the sacrifice of an individual life to save mankind appear in the *batabazi* legends. The people survive the flood in a hut made watertight with earth.

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1. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903," *Globus*, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 78.

176 The batabazi are Batutsi because they are associated with the reigning family.

173 Ryangombe and his Bagaragu. Ryangombe with his bagaragu (clients) and relatives plays the most important role in the Ruanda cult.

We have already expressed the opinion that in the traditions
176 about Ryangombe there is a memory of an historical hero. In
173 favor of this view we have the story (umugani) given below (which does not say much), and in addition, the fact that Kakuku, Mugasha, Kagoro, and Rubaga are mentioned among his retinue. The latter three are semihistorical personalities and, according to our research, belong to the family that ruled in Bunyoro before the Babito, whereas Kakuku is probably identical with Bukuku from the older Bunyoro dynasty.

Ryangombe's nearest relatives do not seem to play any special role and are mentioned only in reference to the hero. Hence we shall only list them. His father was Ndema, and his grandfather, Migongo. Babinga was his mother, and Nyundo, his grandmother. His wife, Nyakisha, presented him with a child called kachumu kato kato kavira imyuna mumbuga, "a small, small spear stained with blood up to the hilt." According to other accounts, his wife was Kadjumba, and their son, Binego.

In other accounts we find somewhat different statements. Lieutenant Von Parisch (1) calls Ryangombe's wife Njawirungu and his father Bawinda which [303] he has probably confused with the name of the mother, Babinga.

Captain Von Beringe (1), on the other hand, calls

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1. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 10.

1. Beringe, Captain Von, an account of his journeys in the region of the Kirunga volcanoes, Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1901, p. 37.

776 173 Ryangombe's grandfather Nyundo, his father Bavinga, and his wife Nina Ryangombe. The last name, however, simply means "mother of Ryangombe."

The most important bagaragu (clients) of Ryangombe are Binego, Kavuna, Mugasha, Kakuku, Kagoro, Senyakazana, and Rubaga.

Their subordination to Ryangombe is always strongly emphasized. We can see this also in the fact that before sacrifices can be made to them sacrifices must be made to Ryangombe. Rubaga is the only exception. One can bring him gifts without first having made offerings to Ryangombe.

782 Special forms and ceremonies are observed in offerings made to these individual spirits.

776 In sacrificing to Binego the person stands with lowered head and murmurs: "Binego bya Kadjumba nyamunega amafizi amabuguma akapfa numulindu. Lukaraba nkaba n'inkuba yadjandja. Ulwamba lw'impiri namaganya y'inkuba aseseka ntànyobwe umushaidja mukanya." I could not find out what this means.

[346] Small straw huts are built to Kavuna. He is offered banana beer with added honey in twin-necked pots. Formerly the sacrificer covered himself with a leopard skin. As he makes the sacrifice, he stretches out his hands and sings: "Kavuna ushime ntango yawe (Kavuna, accept my offering)."

If a person makes a sacrifice to Mugasha, he winds the bark of banana stalks around his legs, arms, and neck. He holds the thin end of a stick in his right hand, stamps his feet, beats the ground with the stick, and repeats: "Mugasha akatema katoke niribiriri, niribirimbo."

Kakuku was an old paralyzed slave. If a person wishes to address him, he first smears his arms with ashes, then he scratches his skin, weeps, and sighs. Peas which are sacrificed are held with the finger bent, because the paralytic could eat only in this manner.

Kagoro is offered small arrows of wood or iron with the words, "busenda bwa Kagoro."

Senyakazana is offered peas and lentils, called inkore.

Rubaga is the greatest after Ryangombe, and he is also offered cows.

6: Czekanowski--234 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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116 [304]. Umugani rwa Ryangombe. To Ryangombe is dedicated the muku or mulinzi, a tree he once climbed to save himself from a buffalo that attacked him on the hunt. The Banyakissaka have the following story about it.

539
Umugani rwa Ryangombe
Story of Ryangombe

Ngoni Ryangombe lya Babinga, ba Nyundo, ngoni Nyamuniga,
That is Ryangombe the Babinga of Nyundo, who is Nyamuniga,

amafizi nayo awabuguma akapfan nimirindo.
? ? ? ? ?

Ryangombe yaliafite nyina, akanga kumumwira. Ryangombe
Ryangombe has mother refused to obey Ryangombe

ashaka kuja kuhiga mwishamba. Nyina nyiwa Ryangombe:
wants to go hunting on the plain. Mother says[to] Ryangombe:

ati mwana wanje leka kuja kuhiga; ati nalose
so child [of] mine let go hunting; so I dreamed

umugezi, utemba uja luguru; ati uzawambuka, ngenda,
a river, which flows upward; so you cross it, you go,

ntuzagaruka. Ati kandi nalose ulukwavu lutagira ishira,
do not come back. So later I dream a rabbit without tail,

uzalwicha, ntuzalubamba. Ati kandi nalose
you will kill it, without obeying. So later I dream

Nyakisha Chimepenebere au Nyakitindi, ati azakulemutsa,
Nyakisha Chimpenebere or Nyakitindi, so she will greet,

atazakulekula Ryangombe. Ati kandi nalose imbogo
she will not leave Ryangombe. So later I dream a buffalo

539 nyaki gumbu. Ati uzaivumbura. Utuzaikira
black very. So you will raise it. You will not protect yourself,

Ryangombe. Ryangombe, ngo hoshi alagenda, aja kuhiga,
Ryangombe. Ryangombe, who then goes away, goes hunting,

abanza kwambuka umugezi, utemba uja luguru. Abagaragu be
begins to cross river, which flows upward. Followers are

bati. Indagu ya Nyira Ryangombe ilasohohye. Bongera
two. The prophecy of mother Ryangombe comes true. They start

kugenda, bavumbura ulukwavu lutagiri ishira, baralwicha,
to go, raise a rabbit without tail, kill it,

baraluleka. Abagaragu be bati. Indagu ya Nyira Ryangombe
leave it. Followers are two. The prophecy of mother [of] Ryangombe

ilageze. Barongeye, barahiga, bavumbura Nyakisha
comes true. They continue, they hunt, they meet Nyakisha

Chimpenebere, kihetse umwana imbebe.
Chimpenebere, she carries a child naked (without a hide).

Baramufata Nyakisha. Ati mutangirira mabi, nimubanze kunshira
They seize Nyakisha. So does nothing bad, begins me to lead to

Ryangombe Barayanye Chimpenebere, ilamukidje Ryangombe.
Ryangombe. They bring Chimpenebere, she bewitched Ryangombe.

Ichara hasi. Ati mpe ingobi yokwihekeka umwana.
He sits on the ground. So give me a hide to carry the child.

Ryangombe icha inzobe. Alaiha au ilamuhati. Ati
Ryangombe kills a marsh buck. He gave him or he gave her. So

iyi ntikwiye, umwana wanje amuhe uluhu rwi
this one does not suffice, child mine it is larger than

539 impongo. Ati iyi ntikwiye umwana,
the antelope. Since this does not suffice for the child,

akokanya, batongera kuhiga. Avumbuka imbogo nyaki gumbu.
it is small, they begin to hunt. He meets a buffalo black very.

Nyakisha Chimpenebere ati: "ndashaka iyo." Ryangombe
Nyakisha Chimpenebere thus: "I want this one." Ryangombe

afata ichumu na ingota, aja kuyitera. Imbogo
seizes spear and sword, goes to throw (to spear). The buffalo

ilahinduka. [305] Imuchumito ihembe. Ryangombe alapfa.
turns around. Gores with horns. Ryangombe dies.

Nyakisha Chimpenebere alishima. Ryangombe agiye kupfa, atuma
Nyakisha Chimpenebere is glad. Ryangombe goes to die, he notifies

yuko apfuye. Babwira umwana we Binego. Alaza
that he will die. They tell child his Binego. He comes

n'impiri ye y'ichuma. Aikubita Nyakisha Chimpenebere.
with scepter of iron. He hits with it Nyakisha Chimpenebere.

Binego alaicha n'umwana wayo ni imbogo nyaki bumbu.
Binego kills with it and child her and the buffalo black very.

Binego amaze kubyicha, abwira abagaragu be, ko aka bamaze.
Binego he ends killing, he says followers his, that he has ended.

Binego achamba Ryangombe. Alataha, asanga nyina
Binego buries Ryangombe. He returns, he visits (his) mother

Nyira Kadjumba. Binego alima mubwani bwa Ryangombe.
Nyira Kadjumba. Binego inherits the kingdom of Ryangombe.

[115] I am indebted to Father Buisson for the translation of this manuscript which was written by a pupil of the mission in Nsasa.

794 575 Secret Societies. The cult of Ryangombe is practiced by the secret societies of babandwa. These societies unite men and women, Batutsi and Bahutu.

In Nduga, above all, the secret societies of babandwa embrace a considerable part of the population. There, as well as in the rest of Ruanda, they seem not only to represent well-organized religious groups, but also to play a role in politics.

This is said to be especially true of the Biheko cult, for example. It is blamed for many a disturbance in the northern part of Ruanda. Biheko was apparently a woman consecrated to Binego, the disciple of Ryangombe. She was killed by Lwabugiri who, it seems, in doing this fought the particularistic tendencies of the north. In order to escape the revenge of her spirit, Lwabugiri permitted his subjects to be initiated into the cult she represented. Since that time, the Biheko cult is said to have made great progress in Mulera and Bugoye.

According to Father L. Classe (1) Biheko was a man from Ndorwa whose brothers were Lutindangezi, Gahaya, and Maloli.

[778] In Mulera the iron rods known as ikrosho are connected with the Biheko cult. They were already described in Mpororo by Stuhlmann (2) and associated with the Nyawingi cult.

794 575 782 753 The dogma is somewhat as follows. Only those consecrated to Ryangombe may contact him, but it is necessary to establish contact with him. It is only through sacrifices that one can persuade Ryangombe to let the spirits that have been driven out return to the birunga (volcanoes) [306] and free the living from

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1. Classe, Father, Moeurs et Coutumes des Bagoye [Manners and Customs of the Bagoye] (Les Missions Catholiques, 1905), p. 440.

2. Stuhlmann, F., Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika [Into the Heart of Africa with Emin Pasha] (Berlin, 1894), p. 253.

794 them. This is of very great importance, especially in cases of
515 illness, for illness is, of course, caused by the spirits. That is
782 why sick people are often initiated into the secret societies of
753 *babandwa*. Sometimes this is done when they are already so ill that they are not quite conscious during the ceremonies, but the hope is that through the initiation the sick person will gain such a powerful protector that the latter will make possible the recovery of the new member. Despite these expectations, people do not omit the sacrifices to the manes of the sick person in order to receive their favor.

794 The existence of the [secret] society divides the population
into two classes: the consecrated and the profane. The consecrated
515 ones, in turn, are divided into two subgroups, the *babandwa* who conduct the ceremonies and the *rusingo*, ordinary initiates of the lower grade. This creates a hierarchy in which discipline is exercised through fear of the supernatural power of the chosen ones. Hence the secret societies are powerful factors in social integration.

The hierarchy of secret societies does not correspond to the territorial division into chieftainships and exogamous clans. It creates dependencies that bridge these divisions, and the social structure is strengthened by the addition of these "supernatural powers."

794 It would be futile to speculate whether the states of the
interlacustrine region could exist without secret societies. It is
515 very probable, however, that the rule of the Batutsi and Bahima
563 minorities is contingent on the organization of these societies. The ruling element seems to be disproportionately stronger among the *babandwa*, whose sons inherit their rank, than among the rest of the population, probably because the Ryangombe cult was allegedly a Batutsi cult originally. This view was expressed to me repeatedly in one way or another by missionaries and natives. It is supported by Rehse (1) who says that Ryangombe is regarded

1. Rehse, H., Kiziba, *Land und Leute* [Kiziba, Land and People] (Stuttgart, 1910), p. 134.

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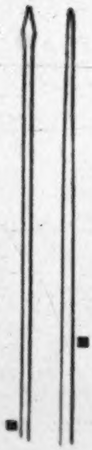

in Kiziba as a Bahima spirit. This is confirmed by the fact that during the initiation ceremonies the female representative of Ryangombe [307] drinks only millet beer. This points to the steppes northeast of the Victoria-Nile from whence, according to tradition, the Batutsi-Bahima once immigrated.

The relationship of the secret cult with the Batutsi stratum is most vividly characterized by the fact that in Kissaka, as well as in the rest of Ruanda, there are many Christians who are Bahutu, but almost none who are Batutsi. The superior social organization of the country makes possible the spread of Christianity. This is also demonstrated by the many Bahutu converts. Among the Batutsi, however, Christianity collides with another well-organized cult which can nullify its progress.

Father Paul Loupias represents the view that the Ryangombe cult is a Bahutu cult. In support of this theory he mentions [643] that a king's son consecrated to Ryangombe, for example, Ishirangabo, the brother of Musinga, loses the right to become king.

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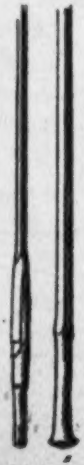
The conception of the kingdom of dead souls and the great power of Ryangombe, whose name one does not dare pronounce without trembling and to whom only the consecrated may offer sacrifices, is in sharp contrast to the idea of the spirits of dead ancestors who remain in intimate contact with the living Bahutu, who live with them, are fed and cared for by them. This contrast permits the assumption that we have here a mixture of very different ideas. Without doubt we are confronted here in the field of religion with the difference between two cultures which have affected each other, the Batutsi and the Bahutu.



[778] Fig. 163. Biheko Iron Rods from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E13770 and III E13727. Length, 130 and 111 centimeters.)

000 which have affected each other, the Batutsi and the Bahutu.

794 The importance of the dog among babandwa* merits special
575 attention. I was assured that the dog is the cow, that is, the
825 most important and sacred animal, of the babandwa. I was
unable to find out anything more specific about its role in the
cult. The adherents of the theory that the states of central
[777] Africa represent vestiges of Egyptian culture might see in the
relationship of the dog to the cult of the "lord of departed souls"
a reflection of Anubis who had the head of a dog.

794 The babandwa exert their power as medicine men, sacri-
575 ficers, and soothsayers. These three functions are very closely
related to each other and can hardly be separated. Besides the
babandwa and the worshippers of Biheko, the balozi [poisoners]
are also said to constitute a secret society.

Initiation. Initiation into a secret society is bound up with long and complicated ceremonies. There are two categories of consecrated ones, those who are fully consecrated and those who have undergone only the preliminary tests.

[308] I should now like to try to give a picture of the babandwa initiation ceremonies in Ruanda, which are very strictly kept secret.

The picture, pieced together by means of painstaking questions, shows a resemblance in the main with the description by Father Van Thiele of Ussuwi, although the arrangement of the whole ceremony seems to bring out some differences.

If a person who is to be accepted into the secret society of babandwa, for example, a sick person, as generally happens, has been told by the chicken oracle that he can be cured by initiation, he must bring gifts to the consecrated to make them favorably disposed toward him.

First of all an influential member is visited, one who might agree to act as guardian (godfather). The guardian, who is also called "father," invites the rest of the initiated into the house of the candidate for initiation.

Certain preparations must be made and a number of objects assembled before the initiation ceremony can take place. The candidate provides a sword, a bell, a torch, a large quantity of beer, and food supplies.

*[i.e. secret society members—Analyst]

794 515 293 On the appointed evening the members assemble in large numbers in the hut of the candidate and begin with the inevitable beer drinking. The individual babandwa act as various bagaragu of Ryangombe, and this is shown by their insignia. Thus, the representative of Mugasha is said to appear wearing a crown and carrying a scepter. The crown consists of a woven ring, similar to the ones placed under vessels, on which hang two rows of strings. On each string is a small reed cylinder [309] secured at the end with a seed of the wild banana. In Ruanda, as in the

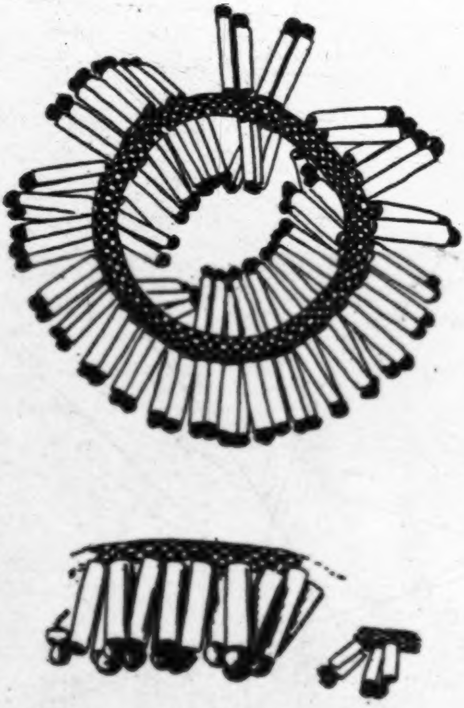


Fig. 164. Crown of Mugasha, Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E13033. 20 centimeters in diameter.)

794 515 other countries of the interlacustrine region, the banana is associated with Mugasha. Similarly, Kagoro is here represented as a brave youth carrying a spear and a stick. In view of this, we expect that the cult of the lance (of Ikiranga), as described

by Father Van der Burgt (1), is connected with Binego.

The uninitiated may not be present at the ceremony, and they are driven away from the vicinity of the hut with such brutal blows from a stick that they must often pay for their curiosity with severe injuries, sometimes even with their lives.

When the ceremony is about to begin, the "father" and his "child" sit down on stools facing each other, with their legs spread apart. The members ask them what they are doing here. Candidate and guardian answer that they would like to be initiated into the society. The members refuse, and sometimes they even try to drive out the candidate with blows. It sometimes happens that the candidate with blows. It sometimes happens that the candidate loses his nerve and runs away, which ends the ceremonies. If he does not run away and the others agree to accept him, he is subjected to various tests which are supposed to prove that he is worthy of joining the society. The first tests are purely playful. He is requested to fetch a star and is told that whoever fails to do this is unworthy of being taken into the secret society. Thereupon the members take glowing embers from the hearth, toss them into the air repeatedly, and catch them in their hands. After this ceremony they again try to drive away the candidate with blows.

He is then given consecrated beer to drink through a straw that is plugged, and the same words are spoken: "If you do not succeed, you are unworthy of joining the order of *babandwa*." The initiated ones thereupon show that this is easy for them, and they drink beer with perfectly good straws. The candidate again does not succeed. After this comes the last test. The candidate is given stones to eat. Again he fails. The members pretend it is easy to eat stones and partake of bananas.

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1. Van der Burgt, Father J.M.M., *Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi avec l'Indication succincte de la Signification Swahili et Allemande* [French-Kirundi Dictionary with short definitions in Swahili and German] (Bois-le-Duc, Hollande, 1903), p. 516.

194 576 The candidate then asks his guardian very timidly how one is to do all this. The guardian takes consecrated beer (buahoro) into his mouth and squirts it on the candidate. Later he rubs the candidate's face with kaolin (runoni) and utters unintelligible, mysterious words. This ceremony is known as kurawa ingwa. After this is done, the consecrator takes [310] a live coal from the hearth, tosses it into the air, and the candidate catches it. Later he gives him beer to drink through a good straw and hands him a banana which the "child" eats. Then it is announced that the candidate can be accepted. At this moment the songs begin. During the singing the candidate is sent by his "father" to steal bananas. If he succeeds in doing this without being seen, he is congratulated when he returns to the gathering. They praise his cunning and greet him with the name which henceforth is his in the society. After this interlude, the songs are resumed, and the "father" proceeds with the initiation, using unintelligible words.

With his guardian the candidate sets out for the muku or mulinzi, the tree consecrated to Ryangombe. Here the consecrating mubandwa's helper, known as muhiruka, joins him. No one else is allowed in the vicinity of the tree. After making certain of this, the candidate is stretched out on his back on the ground, and the consecrator and his helper perform a wild dance. They repeatedly threaten to stab the candidate's chest with a sword. This ceremony is supposed to make the candidate realize what would happen to him if he should decide to commit an indiscretion against the society. At the same time it represents the oath of the consecrator that he will carry out the punishment.

When the dance is over, all three of them return to the hut where the members are assembled; the muhiruka leads the procession, followed by the candidate, while the mubandwa brings up the rear. The other members (babandwa) come to meet them. Among these is one known as kishego. Kishego carries a burning torch (lumuri) and a small bell which he rings. All of them together return to the hut of the candidate.

After their return, the candidate and the consecrating mubandwa sit on stools facing each other. Between them stands a pot of marwa (millet beer), and beside the pot sits an old woman with a forehead ornament that has a rabbit tail. She holds a piece

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of muku wood in her hand. (Muku wood is consecrated to Ryangombe.) All those present squat with their hands stretched out in front of them and call upon Ryangombe.

After the marwa has been sacrificed in this manner to Ryangombe, the candidate lies down on the floor in front of the old woman who, with the muku wood in her hand, is supposed to represent Ryangombe. The candidate says to the woman: "Unkize, undinde, muli uyu muaka umbesheho (Let me be restored to health, protect me this year)." The woman moves her head as though she agreed, mutters unintelligibly -- mmmmm -- and says: [311] "Nzakubesho, ntanga yewe (I shall protect you, I shall let you live, my child)"; later she adds: "Chwaga, chwagura Ryangombe," which is said to mean "Goodness in abundance, thou Ryangombe." Thereupon she takes beer into her mouth and spits it on the candidate. This is the core of the ceremony. After this everyone takes a small torch and roams about the hut as though he were looking for something. After this hunt, the peas (maharagi) and stiff millet mush (mutsima) previously prepared especially for this ceremony are eaten. The Batutsi on this occasion also drink milk. This concludes the ceremony for this day.

After the common meal, the one newly initiated joins in the singing and is ostentatiously honored by those present. He wears a crown of grass, joins in the beer drinking, and eats the sacrificial meat. After he is through eating, he is told that Ryangombe and above all the spirit whose name he bears will protect him, that he will have many children, and that he may attend the secret meetings. He is also taught the sacrificial formulas.

After these ceremonies they drink beer until morning. Shortly before sunrise everyone present, except the one newly initiated, goes to visit the huts in the neighboring banana groves. This ceremony is called simply kusega. Everywhere the visitors are served marwa and nzoga, depending on what the host has on hand, and given bananas as presents. After the visits the members return to the hut where the ceremony has taken place to drink up the remaining beer. Then they go home. On the next evening or a few days later the mubandwa and the muhiruka go to the new

194 575 initiate, eat with him, and warm some water which is poured into the pot that contained the beer sacrificed to Ryangombe during the initiation. The water is drunk by the family of the new initiate. Afterward the bananas collected on the early morning [257] visits (*kusega*) are put in the underground warming place in order to ripen. After a few days, when the beer made from these bananas is ready, acquaintances come for a visit, and they are all served this beer (*nzoga*).

In this manner the candidate achieves the lower stage of initiation. He has become *rusingu*. Many remain here and do not go any higher.

In Batutsi initiation ceremonies, a cow is killed on this occasion. When the cow has fallen, the *mubandwa*, the *muhiruka*, and the candidate --these are always the three active persons -- place themselves on the fallen cow, one after the other. This ceremony is known as *kwitonda gira*. Only after that is the animal cut up and the meat divided among those present.

If a person who has been initiated wishes to rise higher in the hierarchy, if he wants to be a *mubandwa* instead of a *rusingu*, he goes to the "father" who initiated him [312] and asks for further initiation. If the "father" approves, a meeting is called for this purpose. The candidate, as on the first occasion, provides beer and food. Again, of course, the profane are excluded. Similar ceremonies are carried out, and the candidate is squirted with beer. This time, however, the tests are hard, and since only reliable and chosen people are admitted to the higher initiation, these ceremonies are still more mysterious. The candidates are always refused several times and admitted only at the third or fourth meeting. The one newly initiated must swear that he will not betray the secrets of the association nor in any way misuse the confidence placed in him. In taking the oath, the candidate touches the objects consecrated to Ryangombe, such as the crown, the bell, and others. After the ceremony the newly initiated member is accompanied home by the older members. All participants in this festive procession carry branches of the fig tree in their hands. From then on the newly initiated member has the right to sacrifice to Ryangombe, to introduce candidates to the secret society, and to be present at all the ceremonies. Having

794 been born anew as a result of the initiation, he is above the law
515 of the profane and belongs to the ranks of the chosen. He must not forget, however, to offer sacrifices to his patron spirit and to Ryangombe from time to time.

A somewhat different and much more detailed description of an initiation into the society of *babandwa* is given by Father Van Thiele of Ussuwi. This description, it seems, refers to a higher grade of initiation, about which I could find out little in Ruanda. I give a summary of it here, obtained from data placed at my disposal by Father L. Classe.

For the initiation two *babandwa* are necessary, a man and a woman. The man is called *mugogo saidja*, and the woman, *mugogo kazi*. Another name for the man is *musego*, "the [male] consecrator," and for the woman, *muchwezi*, "the [female] consecrator." Both together are known as "parents," *baishebuhemba*. They also have helpers known as *bihale*. The candidate is regarded as their "child" in the ceremony. The "child" is usually ill. The ceremony is performed at the instigation of the soothsayer who has been previously consulted. A number of objects are necessary for the ceremony: a knife; an axe; fire; a stool; calabashes; two kinds of beer; a spoon; a stick; a large needle; a tobacco root; a small stick of *musinge* wood wound with hair from the tail of an animal (*mbwisi*) and sprinkled with white snuff (*ntendere*), the whole thing known as *kimwanda*; an arrow; a hoe; two small pieces of wood from the *mulinzi* tree, slightly hollowed out to make them look like boats and known as *bilimbe*; and finally the *bisingo*, that is, skins decorated with cowrie shells.

[313] After their arrival in the house of the candidate, the *baishebuhemba*, wearing their crowns, sit down on their stools. They represent the spirits taking part in the ceremony. The woman slides her hands alternately up and down the stick. The beer stands in front of them. The sick person lies at their feet and is given snuff. If he sneezes, it means that he qualifies for the initiation. If he does not sneeze, the initiation ceremony does not take place. A member of the family asks that the spirits have mercy on the person, heal him, accept him as one of them, and take possession of him. After that the *mugogo* puts the tobacco

794 root in the mouth of the sick man and keeps it there until the
575 man collapses, unconscious. Then a fire is lighted, and the hoe, arrow, and kimwanda are deposited beside it. Two spirits are invoked, for example, Ryangombe and Mugasha. The woman who represents Ryangombe is addressed by the man with the words:
[782] "Come, oh Ryangombe! Heal and receive your man!" This prayer is called kwentongeza, that is, to let oneself be received, to be consecrated, consecration. With her mouth closed, the woman who represents Ryangombe imitates the mooing of a cow. This is called kutangana and is supposed to mean that the spirit is present. Then one of the members says: "I was kutanganirwa through the spirit N.N.," and the man hands the woman a drinking straw. "Ryangombe" takes beer into her mouth and squirts it on the sick person. This millet beer is kept in an earthen jug; it is made from the variety called endimasi which is dedicated to Ryangombe. Then the woman repeats the same prayer as she turns to the man. He replies with a sigh which is supposed to indicate the presence of Mugasha. The spirit also drinks through a straw which is handed to him by the woman. He drinks banana beer (luhagwa) from a calabash and spits it out on the sick person. Then the mugogo takes some ntendere from his kimwanda, gives the sick person a second portion of the white snuff in order to make him return to consciousness, hits him on the head with the kimwanda, and the sick person wakes up. This concludes the ceremonies of the first day. The baishebuhemba remain overnight in the house of the sick person. They live there for the four days that the ceremony lasts.

On the next evening the assembly goes into the bush a considerable distance from the huts to a place known as kagondo kato. The spirits are invoked in the same way as on the previous evening. The members drink beer and spit it on the sick person who, if he recovers, belongs to the spirits. Then the mugogo takes the knife and the axe and says threateningly to the sick person: "I shall kill you if you tell others what I am doing with you." The woman takes the stick, places it on the neck of the sick man, and threatens him in the same way. Then a few dances are performed, and they go home. This ceremony is known as mutalongo or kumeramera.

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[314] The major tests come on the third day. This time the ceremony lasts longer and breaks up around noon. Besides the above-mentioned articles, food and a bow with arrows are added. The party goes to kagondo kakuru, which is known as "big" because this place is not in the bush but at the foot of a large tree. The ceremony begins with laying the fire. The sick man lies stretched out on leaves at the foot of the tree. The mugogo climbs up on a little knoll and calls together the members in the neighborhood with the words: "Esaire, Esaire," that the consecrated ones. The babisi, the new ones or the non-consecrated, are not permitted and do not dare to come. Only those who were once initiated come. They approach as though they were going to a solemn festival. When all are assembled (sometimes 50 or more), amulets and medicines are burned so that the babisi, the profane or uninitiated, cannot harm their sacred wood.

Later the head of the sick person, who lies stretched out, is placed on the knee of someone present. He is told to put out his tongue, whereupon medicine is placed upon it. The mugogo takes a small flat piece of wood, shoves it under the man's tongue, and with his other hand takes a large needle smeared with medicine and sticks it into the tongue of the sick man so that the point of the needle penetrates the piece of wood. If blood flows, the ceremony is worthless, for it proves that the spirit rejects the person. The helpers hold the man by his arms and legs, his head still resting on the lap of another man who supports him. The needle is kept in the tongue for an indefinite period, depending on the age and strength of the person. Sometimes it is left for 20 to 30 minutes. During the entire time the people present are dancing. The women beat on the hides they are wearing, and the men shake the gourds containing beer. They sing two words alternately: wabo meaning "they [or she; Ger., sie]" and bagaburi meaning "they deny me." At the same time they place their arm rings in front of the mugogo to ransom the sick one. When there are enough arm rings, the mugogo pulls the needle out. The dancing ceases, and they eat. After the meal they call upon the spirit, and the sick person is threatened as on the two previous days.

794 515 Everything is repeated but much more madly. In the end all are invited to assemble early the next morning for the final ceremonies. The sick person is accompanied home, and there is dancing along the way. Sometimes for the rest of the night they stay out in the open, *kulala alukome*. The body of the sick person is rubbed with earth or sand so he will be all the more beautiful at the ablutions the next day.

On the fourth and last day the ceremony of *mulwesero*, "ablutions," takes place. Early in the morning all who have been invited go to a certain river, dressed in festive garb. A youth is held under water by the *baishebuhemba*; an adult dives [315] in after him. They hold their noses and ears shut with their fingers. The *baishebuhemba* pour water into the small boats made of *mulinzi* wood. After the diving, the trunk of the sick person is painted white with kaolin (*runoni*). Everyone present admires his beauty with the words: "You shine like a leopard; you are another person." There is celebrating and drinking on the shore of the river. Then, as on the previous days, the spirits are invoked. In the evening all the participants return, singing and dancing like maniacs. When they arrive in the courtyard of the house, they are given a hoe and four seeds: millet, manioc, gourd, and pea. The initiate buries them in the presence of his *baishebuhemba* and the others attending. They are placed on the two boats of *mulinzi* wood. Then he is given the name of a spirit and a crown with two cowrie shells. Not until later may the number of shells be increased. Then the initiate begins to act like one possessed. He goes so far as to abuse his relatives with indecent words. The *baishebuhemba* order him to lie down on the ground, and after a while the *mugogo* calls him by his ordinary name in order to remind him of his everyday life. The initiate pretends to be waking from a deep sleep. He looks at everyone present and greets them all quietly in the usual way. This is called "to take away the *luchwezi*." Then the initiation fees are paid, and the ceremony is over.

794 515 184 The two descriptions of the initiation ceremonies are somewhat different, but this probably indicates local differences in the cult.[1]

[1] [i.e. the Babandwa cult—Analyst]

794 575 184 In general, the similarities are greater than the differences. We should like to mention only the rubbing with kaolin, the squirting of beer, the lighting of a fire at the ceremonies, the practice of making the candidate lie on the ground, the dances at the mulinzi tree, the tests, the threatening of the candidate, the female representative of Ryangombe, the connection between Ryangombe and millet beer which is used only in the northern steppes, and finally the secret cult language of the initiated.

Another very important fact is that the representative of Mugasha, the spirit of the waters and banana groves, unlike the female representative of Ryangombe, drinks banana beer from a gourd.

794 575 198 Secret Language. The babandwa use a special language in their rites, which is not known by the rest of the population and which belongs with the rest of the babandwa secrets, ibanga lyi bandwa. Father Van Thiele referred to this language in Ussuwi as luchwezi; I was told in Kissaka and Nduga (Marangara) that it is called lubandwa. I shall now make a list of the luchwezi words collected by Father Van Thiele and place them parallel to the lubandwa words collected by Father C. Lecoindre. I did not succeed in finding other data about the secret language. [317]

[601] In Kissaka the babandwa never mention the name of the father-in-law, and he is referred to as ikitari lwa hurawaa.

794 575 782 Sacrifice. The manes are the only spirits to whom everyone may sacrifice. The most important sacrifices are made to Ryangombe and his disciples and these, as we have already said, may be performed only by the initiated (babandwa).

Father Van Thiele has the following to say about these ceremonies.

The mubandwa who is requested to make the sacrifice goes to the house of the donor the evening before to make the necessary preparations.

The next morning before sunrise the entire family and their dependents accompany the mubandwa with his helpers to the place of sacrifice, which is located at a crossroads. The father takes his bow and arrow. At the place the bound sacrificial animal is held by the sorcerer's attendants. The mubandwa kills the animal. The previously prepared secret objects are dipped in the

[Text continues on page 253—Analyst]

6: Czekanowski--251 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Translation	Kinyaruanda	Lubandwa (Marangara)	Luchwezi (Ussuwi)	Lubandwa (Kissaka)
Amulet	ngisha	–	mihasira	–
Arms	amaboko	–	mikolantambara	–
Bracelet (copper)	imiringa	imihone	–	–
Eyes	amaso	–	agaweza	–
Axe	–	–	nsenya	–
Banana	ekitoke	–	bihuni	–
Bananenenhain	indoke	–	bihungatete	–
Sweet potato	–	–	ebizibizi	–
To build	kubaka	–	kizizimba	–
Farmer	umuhutu	umunutu	–	–
Tree	ikiti	–	kisale	–
Legs	–	–	malibasa	–
Beer	nzoga	ruhunga	mayanza	–
To drink beer (nzoga)	–	–	–	kutshwaga hwagura
Bow	umuheto	umuneto	bulega	–
Archery	kurasa	kurasha	–	–
Firewood	ntushari	–	nsali	–
Dagger	umusenyi	umusenyi	–	–
Peas	maharage	–	ebihurugu	–
To eat	kulia	kutanyira	–	–
European	–	–	Bazubu	–
Meat	nyama	–	migasi	–
Fire	umuriro	umwoto	muto	–
Woman	umugore	umukari	mukankazi	–
To give birth	kubiara	kubuta	–	–
To go	kugenda	kuzenga	–	–
Face	amasso	amashongo	–	–
God	Imana	Imende	–	–
Grass	ubwatsi	–	bunyamurwa	–
Hair	imitsatsi	–	ichoke	–
Chief	umutware	chirima	–	–
House	inzu	inzakaru	enzakaru	–

6: Czekanowski--252 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Translation	Kinyaruanda	Lubandwa (Marangara)	Luchwezi (Ussuwi)	Lubandwa (Kissaka)
Dog	imga	kakungu	–	kakungu
Kahindiro (king)	Kahindiro	Kamindiro	–	–
Calabash	kisabo	–	ensweina	–
Child	umwana	umuhere	–	ibikende
Client	umugaragu	umugarama	–	–
Cooking pot	nyungu	–	ntwerwa	–
Queen mother	–	–	muyarami	–
Head	umutwe	–	muyara	–
Herbs	imboga	iziboze	–	–
Cow	inka	ihangi	–	–
Cowhide	inkanda	inkabara	–	–
Lwabugiri (king)	Lwabugiri	Rwabuguru	–	–
Girl	mukobga	musundi, ntara-komereke	–	–
Man	umugabo	umulabo	umulenzi	–
Mat	ikirago	–	mukabali	–
Mush	umutsima	umubonania	–	–
My child	umwana wanye	–	umwere wane	–
[317] To milk	kukama	kukoroga	–	–
Milk	amata	ameza	masugunu	amafuro
Ears	amatwi	–	mahuliru	–
Arrows	umuambi	–	milasa	–
Rain	–	–	nfonyi	–
Salt	umunyu	umusenyi	–	–
To suckle	–	–	kunuka	–
Sheep	ntama	–	mbwana	inyabuhoro
Stool	–	–	kisunta	–
Spear	ichumo	ishongoro	masongola	–
To die	kupfa	–	kuyiruma	–
Cloth	–	–	migonzi, mikorokozi	–

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Translation	Kinyaruanda	Lubandwa (Marangara)	Luchwezi (Ussuwi)	Lubandwa (Kissaka)
Tobacco	–	–	ihukula	–
Forest	ishamba	–	kichaka	–
Water	amazi	–	matingi	–
Way	inzira	–	muhura	–
Teeth	–	–	manono	–
Goat	ihene	inguruka	uzwika	kianwa
Tongue	urulimi	–	lurigizi	–

794 575 782 blood of the animal and placed on the chests, the foreheads, and, last of all, the backs of those present. Then the mubandwa spreads out small bundles of green twigs, muyambo, on the animal. When he has given the order to disperse, everyone begins to move. One person after another walks over the sacrificial animal and goes home without looking back; otherwise the sacrifice would lose all its meaning. In this procession the father goes first, then the sons, then the chief wife, followed by the other wives and their daughters. The mubandwa and his attendants remain at the place of sacrifice. [318] If someone passes in the vicinity of the sacrificial remains, he takes care to pick up a leaf, spit on it, and throw it in the direction of the remains, saying: "Do not pursue me (spirit, umuzimu, misfortune, or illness)." This refers to the fact that the evil, the spirit, or whatever has been cast off through the sacrifice might attack a passer-by at the crossroads.

The Batutsi sacrifice cows, sheep, and chickens, whereas the sacrificial animal of the Bahutu is the goat and, more rarely, sheep.

As far as I could ascertain, the meat of sacrificed cows is distributed to all present if the prophecy is favorable. If the entrails prophesy unfavorably, the meat is given to the Batwa. The family of the donor does not eat the meat of sacrificed sheep, but gives it to the mubandwa and his helpers who have performed the sacrifice. The ceremony described by Father Van Thiele thus undoubtedly refers to the sacrifice of a sheep, which he forgot to mention. The meat of sacrificial goats is eaten by the Bahutu who

794 have made the sacrifice and by their friends.

595 The Batutsi wear the fat and bones of sacrificed sheep as
782 amulets around their necks. The fat, like the chicken entrails,
[789] is worn on the chest in small containers fastened to a string of bast.

[445]

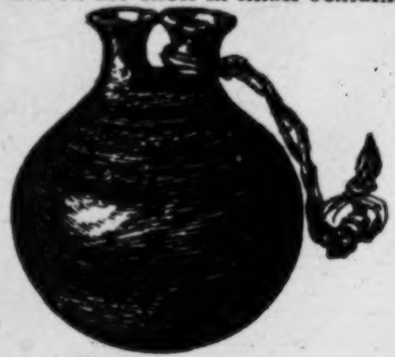

Fig. 165. Sacrificial Vessel for Beer, Mulera. (1/4 actual size. L15173. 21 centimeters high.)

[276]

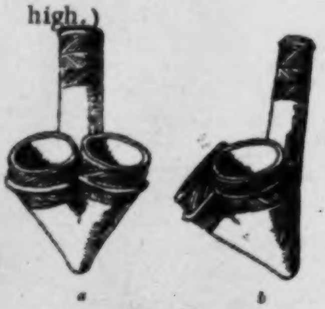

Fig. 166. Tobacco Pipes with Twin Bowls, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E6595. 9 centimeters long.)

Beer is offered to Ryangombe in jugs with two openings. The sacrificer drinks out of one opening, Ryangombe out of the other. The double-bowled tobacco pipes seem to serve the same purpose.

[292] When they are making a sacrifice, the Batutsi may not wear cotton material. They must be dressed in the fringed cow-hide known as mukane.

791 787 *Soothsayers, Sorcerers, and Medicine Men.* Besides the *babandwa*, there are several categories of people in Mulera who know how to exercise power over the living and over spirits in supernatural ways. We shall speak here of *bapfumu*, *bahuzi*, *balozi*, *bachunyi*, *bahinza*, and *bawubyi*.

[319] *Bapfumu* have the task of communicating with the spirits of the dead (*bazimu*). They are visited when a death has occurred in the family, and a present of food, sometimes even a goat, is brought to them. They then tell the family where it would be most suitable to build the spirit hut of the deceased (*ndaro*). Since the *mupfumu* remains in contact with the spirits of the dead and since these spirits cause illness, he is asked whether a sick person will recover. The *mupfumu* gives answers with the help of the little board oracle.

[682] The special duty of the *bahuzi* is to discover poisoners who are known here as *balozi* and in the Runyoro territory was *balogu*. If many deaths occur, poisoning is immediately suspected. The *muhuzi* is summoned to handle this, and it is his task to determine who the poisoner is. If discovered, the criminal can be killed, and the evil can, at least for the future, be remedied. The *muhuzi* goes from one compound to another with his enchanted antelope horn. Everywhere he is most hospitably received by the head of the family who gives him gifts. All are afraid that if he were displeased he might point to them as poisoners, and this always means death. On his rounds the *muhuzi* is told by the horn where the poison is to be found and who the poisoner is.

791 821 232 Persons struck by lightning are also treated by the *muhuzi*. If lightning strikes a herd of cattle, the owner utters a cry of joy which consists of a long drawn-out "hoo..." as he strikes his lips with his hand. This call is supplemented by the news that the king is taking back his cattle. This is done in order to save the animals that have been stunned. The *maganga huzi* is then fetched and tries to heal the animals with herbs. For his efforts he is presented with the jaws of the dead animals and the meat on them. The horns of the dead animals are buried at the spot where they were stricken. [787] Another task of the *bahuzi* is to prophesy to the sick the outcome of their illness.

674 754 Balozi, poisoners, are said to kill their victims with a poison which they carry hidden under their fingernails. The poison is given to the victim on his own tobacco pipe which the poisoner treacherously borrows for a bit in order to take a few puffs. All sudden [761] deaths are regarded as poisonings. This idea is based on the fact that poisoning is a widespread crime. Father F. Dufays told me that he once succeeded in saving a person poisoned by a balozi by giving him milk and an emetic. It looks as though there actually had been a poisoning in that case. During my stay in Ruasa I had an opportunity to see an alleged attempt at poisoning. When Captain W. Von Grawert took a guide from Ruasa on his punitive expedition, [320] the wronged ones brought us a pot of honey that was said to be poisoned. The suspicious Mututsi, Lwakazina, who had always accompanied me when I was there in order to enhance his standing through friendship with a European, discovered a small piece of fat wrapped in banana fiber in the honeypot. He maintained that it was the flesh of a native killed by the soldiers, and this was generally believed by all present. The manner in which the donors of the honey retreated, in proud awareness of a duty accomplished and with much abuse, made me inclined to believe that Lwakazina was perhaps right.

Poisoning and bewitching are known by the same word, kuloga. For this reason it is very difficult to distinguish the two in the reports one hears. It is especially difficult to find out whether sorcerers or poisoners are sought.

I could not find out whether poisoners have a secret society here. I repeatedly heard, but always in a very vague and contradictory manner, that they have nocturnal sessions around a fire (in masks?) and that they devour human flesh, even corpses, and prepare poisons.

791 Bachunyi are manufacturers of amulets. A person who wants an amulet (mpigi) to protect himself from some evil or to aid him in some manner goes to see the muchunyi. The latter hides and prepares the remedy in secret with the help of incantations.

In Ussuwi, according to Father Van Thiele, the bakoni, who are probably identical with the bachunyi of Ruanda, have the task of combatting the poison of the greatly feared and mysterious balogu.

791 789 The bahinza have to do with matters relating to farming, above all with crops and grasshoppers. A good harvest is due to their cooperation. That is why, after the harvest, bahinza go about collecting donations. People like to give them gifts. The curse of the muhinza can "dry up" human beings as well as animals, so that they lose their sexual powers.

The Balera fear the curse of the muhinza very much, for if he merely pronounces his curse and spits upon the ground, the effect is automatic.

[152] Father F. Dufays told me that he saw a man die of fright soon after he had been cursed by a muhinza. The bahinza are always Bahutu.

791 Bawubyi are rainmakers. They appear in the transition period between the rainy season and the dry season and demand gifts for making rain or for making it stop. Bawubyi are always pariah Batwa.

Since there are very few Batutsi in Mulera and they have little influence, we may assume that [321] the various categories of soothsayers and sorcerers mentioned here and familiar to me from my stay in Mulera and the practice of poisoning are phenomena basic to Bahutu culture and not borrowed from the Batutsi.

588 In Ruanda, as in Kiziba and Mpororo, women are consecrated to the spirits. They must provide for the needs of the spirits, and their children are said to be regarded as the children of the spirit and to belong to his family, for these women are allegedly forbidden to have sexual intercourse with others. I was told quite frankly, however, about a case where a Mututsi chief consecrated Bahutu women to a spirit and had sexual intercourse with them.

787 Dreams and Soothsaying. In Ruanda various methods of soothsaying are practiced. First we must speak of the chicken oracle because of its great importance.

In order to obtain information about a certain matter through the chicken oracle, it is necessary for the person to come to the soothsayer (mupfumu) with a chicken. When he arrives, he spits into the beak of the chicken and hands it to the soothsayer. The latter first places the chicken on the visitor's head and then calls his helper, a young boy. The boy grasps the chicken under its

787 wings and lays it on its back on the ground. The *mupfumu* slits
open the chicken from the beak down, so the tongue remains
attached to the lower jaw. He lifts out the entrails, which are
placed in an improvised basin and washed. The basin is a de-
pression in the ground lined with a banana leaf. The soothsayer
spreads the washed entrails on his hand and looks for excrescences
known as *nkebe*. If there are not more than two or three *nkebe*,
787 the prediction is favorable or in the affirmative. In this case, a
few bones are taken from the chicken and placed in a small ves-
789 sel of barkcloth. Sometimes the entrails with the *nkebe* are added.
This vessel is dried in the smoke from the hearth and worn around
the neck as an amulet against the evil eye. If the number of
nkebe is larger, the chicken is thrown away, and the operation is
repeated on another chicken.

787 A few days after the soothsaying has taken place, the amulet
made of a bit of barkcloth and containing chicken bones and fat
is handed over with a certain solemnity. It takes a few days for
the contents to dry out. Early in the morning the *mupfumu* comes
into the hut of the person fortunate enough to have a favorable
prediction. The soothsayer is received by the man who sits on a
stool and his wife who sits beside him on the ground. The sooth-
sayer sits down opposite them and smears the man's forehead,
back, and chest with some kaolin. [322] Later he hands the man
a necklace of bast from which hang the vessels containing the
bones of the chicken sacrificed for the soothsaying. In payment,
the soothsayer gets a hoe and some beer if there is any to be had
at the time.

The chicken oracle is a Batutsi (or Bahima) custom. This is evident from the fact that the soothsayers belong to the aristocracy of herdsmen and that the amulets containing chicken bones are worn primarily by Batutsi.

The entrails of cows and sheep are used in the same manner as chicken entrails for soothsaying. Because of their costliness, however, this is evidently done only by the king and the aristocracy. Goats are used for sacrifices, but never for soothsaying.

The fact that the goat, which is associated more with the lower-class Bahutu, is not used for soothsaying probably shows that in general soothsaying from the entrails of sacrificial animals is associated with the ruling Batutsi class.

[Text continues in p. 260]

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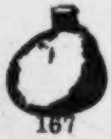

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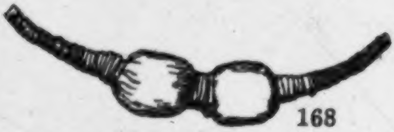

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Fig. 167. Amulet of Barkcloth, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size.)

Fig. 168. Twin Amulets on a Necklace of Barkcloth, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size.)

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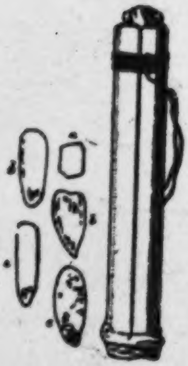

Fig. 169. Container with Tokens for the Little Board Oracle, Mulera: (a) gourd token, (b) iron tokens, (c) bone tokens. (1/4 actual size. IIIE 13117. 22 centimeters long.)

787 . In Kissaka soothsaying with calabashes is also said to be practiced. Father Van Thiele describes it as follows. The soothsayer has two calabashes filled with seed kernels. He sits on a small stool, dressed in the hide of a jackal in such a way that the head of the animal lies on the head of the soothsayer and the tail hangs down behind. He shakes the two gourds and makes the kernels rattle. After a while he stops, puts the gourds aside, takes off the skin, and lies down on the floor. After a period of concentration the soothsayer announces his oracle and is paid.

Another type of soothsaying is that of the speaking calabash and the speaking goatskin, nyabukobwa. This was supposed to have prophesied the arrival of Europeans from the east at the time of the last independent king of Kissaka (Kimeni II). Father Van Thiele reports that he found a reed flute in the nyabukobwa which played when the bag was squeezed and air escaped.

[323] In Mulera the little board oracle is common. The soothsayer grasps the handle of a small, hollowed out, trough-shaped board 40 centimeters long, 15 centimeters wide, and one to two centimeters deep. With his other hand he tosses into the air a few times several seeds, some little metal discs, small sheep bones, and a piece of gourd. The piece of gourd is called umwami (king). The iron discs represent the bazimu (spirits) of men, and the sheep bones, those of women. They are always skillfully caught. After they have been sufficiently mixed, they are thrown on the little board. The answer is found in the way they are spread out.

787 The natives of Ruanda tell about prophecies several years back that foretold the coming of the Europeans.

173 Thus, years ago the then mighty father of Kaizuka was said to have known that a conqueror, different from all men known up to that time and one having power over thunder, would come from the east and would change the internal conditions of Ruanda. This prophecy was generally known and induced Monseigneur Hirth to choose the route via Usumbura and Urundi for the mission to avoid possible difficulties that might result from this prophecy. In 1905 when the king became aware of changed conditions, it is said that Kaizuka, the son of the prophet of doom, was robbed of his possessions and had his eyes gouged out.

787 173 There is a story of a similar prophecy for Ruasa. Formerly the hill on which the mission is now located had a quite unintelligible name, busakaza itaka, allegedly, "land where earth is used to cover." About 15 years ago a man prophesied that "red men" would come and that their house would be covered with earth. When the missionaries came and covered their buildings with bricks, the words made sense, and the prophecy was fulfilled. There is a similar story about Bugoye.

787 I could not understand the Banyaruanda views about dreams.

775 What one sees in a dream is a matter pertaining to the past or the future if it is contrary to the present. If one has seen deceased persons in a dream, it is said that the spirits of the dead came visiting. Such a dream is usually followed by a sacrifice, for it is assumed that the spirits are suffering and that they appear in order to beg for help. If a person disregards this he might suffer evil consequences, for the neglected spirits would avenge themselves.

787 If a youth sees his bride in a dream, he does not marry her. The dream warns him against a marriage in which the partners would not get along.

Father F. Dufays once dreamed that one of his black friends burst because he drank too much beer. When he told this to the man in question on the next morning, [324] the man was frightened and began to cry. When he was asked the reason for his tears, he said that whatever one sees in a dream comes to pass.

755 The Practice of Medicine. A special form of medical treatment, cure through initiation into a secret society, has already been described. This is not all there is to medical practice, however, and it is not always employed. Not all sorcerers, soothsayers, and medicine men belong to the secret societies of babandwa. The act of appeasing the spirits with eleusine (buro) seems to be carried out by ordinary soothsayers (bapfumu) in order to free patients from afflictions caused by troublesome spirits.

In Kissaka where I was told a great deal about the "appeasement of spirits" with eleusine, the procedure is somewhat as follows.

The mupfumu takes a small calabash known as ntendere and fills it with eleusine. He adds nzuzi seeds, kaolin powder, and a bone from the forefoot of a cow. The soothsayer rubs the palm of

755 his hand with kaolin, places the nzuzi seeds and the bone on his hand, spits on them, and says: "ngira amagara (I am strong)." He shakes his hand and tosses the contents into a small basket, ntaro. Then he pours eleusine from the gourd into the basket. He spits on the eleusine and hands the basket to the person for whom he is performing the ceremony, who likewise spits into the basket. For the second time the mupfumu takes the bone and the nzuzi seeds out with the words, "ngira amagara." He shakes them in his hand as though mixing them. He tosses the contents of his hand into a round basket with the words, "ngira amagara," and puts the basket to one side. Then he hands the basket containing the eleusine to the man, who spits into it and says: "n'dapfa (I am dying)." Thereupon the soothsayer spits into it with the words, "ngira amagara." The tormented one says: "n'ziranyu muzimu (I am suffering at the hands of this spirit)," and gives its name. The individual spirits are named in this manner, the soothsayer and the man alternately going through the ritual of spitting. This performance is known as kushora umuzimu, "appeasing the spirits." When this is finished, the soothsayer takes the small basket that has been set aside with the cow bone, the nzuzi seeds, and a few eleusine seeds, and he hands it to the tormented one, who spits into it and says: "ngira ubuhoro (I am at peace)." The soothsayer moves the basket with the words: "agira ubuhoro (he is at peace)"; "atapfa (he will not die)"; "atafushe (he would not like to be killed)"; "azaturaho (he will remain)." After these words the sorcerer tosses everything into the calabash, and the ceremony is ended.

In payment for his services the mupfumu gets peas, sweet potatoes, etc.

[325] I was unable to find out anything about true medical
755 treatment and the methods of cure, since this involves a knowledge
757 of the local flora. The natives themselves know far less about
this than about the impressive ceremonies of auto-suggestive cures.
I should merely like to say that the remedies are taken internally
and applied externally and are also worn on the body in small horns
757 and vessels as amulets. The amulets containing medicine are tied

[Text continues on p. 264]

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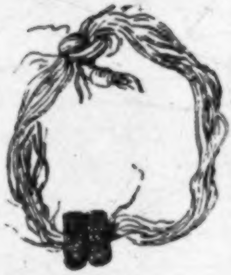

Fig. 170. Head Amulet from Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E 6978. Length, 1.8 centimeters.

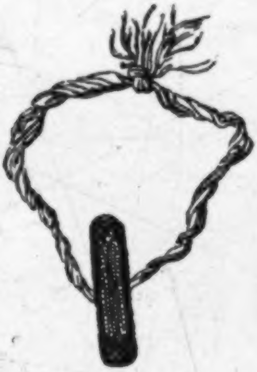

Fig. 171. Head Amulet from Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E 10153.)

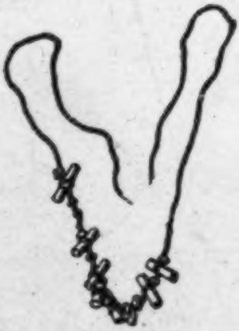

Fig. 172. Neck Amulet from Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E10153.)

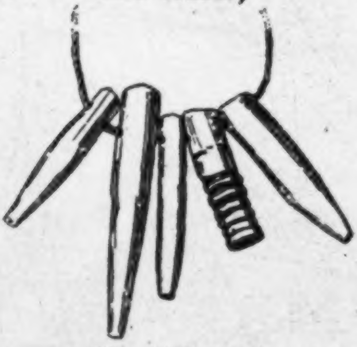

Fig. 173. Neck Amulet from Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E 10147.)

755 to the afflicted parts of the body. Since the amulets are very specialized in their effects, every illness requires a different amulet, sometimes even a different medicine man. That is why one constantly sees individuals with a dozen amulets.

There are many different types of amulets. There are, first of all, small pieces of wood decorated with little glass beads. One or two of these are worn on the bast headband. Sometimes several thin wooden cylinders with glass beads are worn on a necklace. One also sees quite a number of larger pieces of wood on a necklace. Occasionally amulets have the shape of tiny clay vessels filled with long-distance medicine. Similarly shaped are
832 the little love pots (ingondo) which are [326] worn in large numbers by the women on their belts. They are said to guarantee the love of their husbands. The small gourds called bunuli serve the same purpose. Vessels of this kind are filled with the medicine known as isarazi.

752 Sometimes the sick person is branded with a hot iron. One often sees scars of burns on the forehead, which indicate headache treatments. In other cases incisions and bloodletting are performed.

Bloodletting (kurasha) is common in Ruanda medical practice. A vein in the forehead is chosen and blocked by means of pressure (bandaging the neck). The vein is then opened. This is done by placing an arrow or a knife on the vein and pushing it into the vein with the index finger.

When a sufficient amount of blood has been drawn off, the ligature is removed. The bleeding usually stops automatically. If it does not, the opening is stopped up with clay.

Cupping is also a favorite treatment. An antelope horn with a small opening at the point serves as a cupping glass. Air is sucked out through the opening, and the cup is sealed with fig leaves. The cupping horn is placed on the neck in the case of a headache. To increase its effectiveness, the skin is often lacerated with a knife. The cupping horn is kept on the spot until it falls off by itself. The cupping horns do not differ from those of the Dinka.

In fractures of arms or legs the bones are skillfully set and immobilized with splints (busenge).

[Text continues on p.266]

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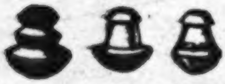

Fig. 174. Clay Containers for Amulets, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E10147.)

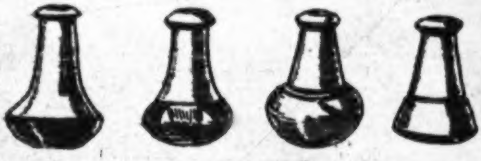

Fig. 175. Little Love Pots, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E13087a, III E13088c, III E13086a, III E13084b.)

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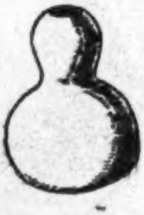

Fig. 176. Love Gourd from Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E13119. 12 centimeters high.)

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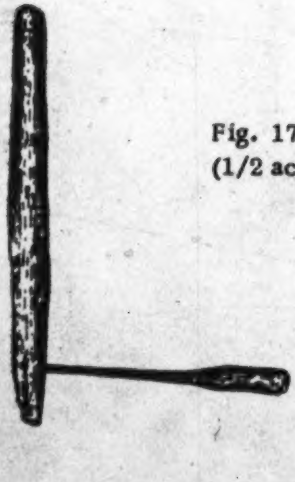

Fig. 177. Instrument for Bleeding, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. L15066.)

6: Czekanowski--266 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

Among medicine men Father Van Thiele distinguishes two different professional secret societies, the bakoni and the bageiye, who are initiated with the banga ceremony. Bageiye heal persons suffering from snake bite. 759 575

I had no opportunity to see a bageiye perform in Ruanda. When a man was bitten by a snake on the way to the Muhawura volcano, [327] the natives wanted to tie the head of the dead snake on the wound as an antidote. 752

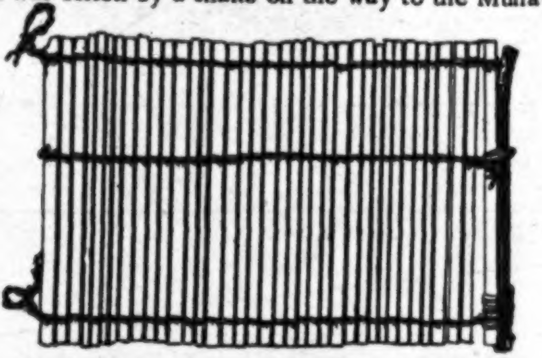

Fig. 178. Splints for Immobilizing Broken Bones, Ruanda. (1/4 actual size. III E13742. 26 centimeters long, 20 centimeters wide.)

The following account by Father Van Thiele about a preventive treatment for the greatly feared disease of smallpox (bushita) is very interesting. 751

The medicine man first provides everyone with amulets consisting of gourd seeds. Even the water jug gets its amulet. Then he gives a preventive medicine which he boils. After the boiling he blows air into it through a straw so as to make foam which is rubbed all over the body. The efficacy of the medicine is increased by making incisions in five different places: three incisions over the right eye and one incision each on the right shoulder, the back, the right hand, and above the right foot. The medicine man spits on his little finger and rubs the incisions with it.

Cannibalism and Human Sacrifice. The problem of cannibalism and human sacrifice in the interlacustrine region is the most obscure and difficult of all. For example, in Ruanda the bimara, 266 782 651

266 the blood tax, is said to have existed until just a few years ago.
782 The Bahutu of Bukunzi in Mukinjaga once stole the cows of King
651 Ruganzu and ate them. The next morning the herdsmen found pieces of meat hanging on spears; that was all there was left of the animals. The criminals were recognized by their spears. As a punishment their country was burdened with a special tax. Every year they were obliged to deliver a maiden and a youth. The youth was slain on the way, and his blood brought to the king; the young girl became a *muja* (slave) of the king. I heard that this sacrifice was last paid three years ago (1904) and then was discontinued by Musinga.

[643] Furthermore, when the king ascends the throne, a boy and a girl are reputedly sacrificed and a drum is beaten with a human thigh bone (1). We must not forget that in Buganda (2) human beings were sacrificed in large numbers.

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794 [328] Cannibalism is said to be practiced by the Batwa in the north and by poisoners (*balozi*). Koch (1) confirms its occurence among the *balogu* of the western shore of Lake Victoria: "It is a fact that at present there is still a secret order here which digs up corpses and eats them, and for this reason the families station

1. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902-1903 [Two Journeys Through Ruanda]," *Globus*, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 77.

[113] 2. Roscoe, J., *The Baganda, Their Customs and Beliefs* (London, 1911), p. 331.

1. Koch, R., "Anthropologische Beobachtungen gelegentlich einer Expedition an den Victoria Nyanza [Anthropological Observations on an Expedition to Lake Victoria Nyanza]," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1908, p. 465.

266 guards near corpses. They believe that if a person eats corpses
794 he is imbued with weird, magical power and can turn into wild
515 animals, as in our legend of the werewolf."

According to Johnston (2), the secret society of basezi in Buddu and on the Sese Islands assembles at night and devours corpses. Johnston (3) characterizes the inhabitants of the Sese Islands as notorious cannibals who gave up this passion only when they were forced to by the Baganda.

Ruanda's western neighbors, the Bahunde, are likewise cannibals, as Dr. Kandt (4) has determined. He reports the following discovery: "Here lay the head of a human being that had been slaughtered not more than two days ago. The ears, the lips, and the flesh of cheeks, neck, and chin had been cut away, and the large hollow bones had been broken, apparently to suck out the marrow and the blood. The place where the fire had been, marked by ashes, was still visible; the blood-soaked apron of barkcloth and the straw and wire rings of the slaughtered person lay strewn about in the grass. I called the guides. They knew the man and said that if we wanted to look around we could find many other remnants of this kind, but I had no desire to do so."

From these facts we may conclude that formerly cannibalism was common in the entire interlacustrine region from the western lakes to the Sese Islands. Only recently suppressed, it has left definite traces in the cult and in secret societies.

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[13] 2. Johnston, H., The Uganda Protectorate (London, 1902), p. 692.

3. Ibid., p. 693.

4. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 449.

[329] Chapter 16

Decoration and Play

53| *Decoration.* We have mentioned a few widespread patterns of ornamentation in our discussion of shaving and tattooing patterns. We illustrated a number of them on baskets, mats, quivers, spear holders, rings to be put under vessels, knife sheaths, and scabbards. The data will now be supplemented and summarized.

Ruanda ornamentation is purely geometrical and chiefly rectilinear, lines being used mainly to outline the larger, monochrome fields. Sometimes, however, entire fields are uniformly decorated with parallel lines, which may also form squares. Curved lines are used, but they are rare. They are sometimes found on knife sheaths. It is only in the painting of shields and in shaving and tattooing patterns that they are used exclusively.

In Kissaka I also saw partitions in the Bahutu huts painted in this manner.

Ruanda ornamentation is very simple, without variety in form or color. The forms are usually combinations of triangles and straight lines. Coloration is usually restricted to a contrast between black and white. Quite rarely red is added and then only on shields, room partitions, and small, woven luxury articles. Other colors are merely various shades of white. Pure white cannot be obtained because of the nature of the materials to be decorated (mats, wood); black decorations are painted on them.

In view of the simplicity of Ruanda ornamentation, we can easily classify it. The chief elements have already been described and named by Dr. Kandt (1). We shall list them herewith: *amatana*, "quiver"; *ngabo*, "shield": *masaka*, "millet"; *amakota*, "knife, arrowhead"; [330] *mushongole*, "friendly person"; *uduhuda*, "spear ferrule," "swallow's wing," "large swallow's wing";

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1. Kandt, R., "*Gewerbe in Ruanda* [Industry in Ruanda]," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1904, p. 343.

ikirizo, "large tail"; imiambi, "arrows." The last three may be regarded as composite forms. The pentagon is in a very special class. It is quite isolated. All these elements are rectilinear. Curved lines appear as segments, crescents, spirals, and circles. Large circles are called imikako, "upper arm ring," while small circles are called imirindi, "wrist ring."

The triangle is the principal element of Ruanda ornamentation. It is called "quiver" (amatana) and is most frequently found on the quivers where they are placed in rows forming wide bands. A band of tiny triangles on quivers is called imirindi, "arm ring."

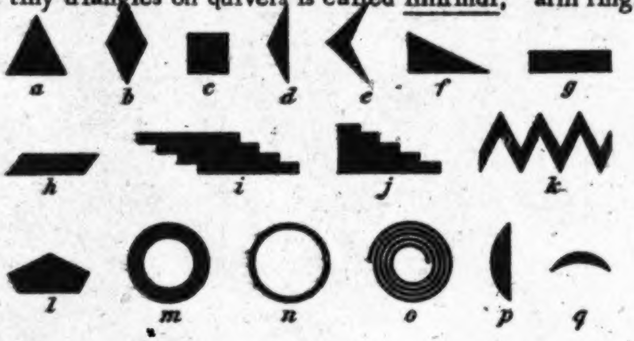

Fig. 179. Elements of Ruanda Ornamentation: (a) amatana, quiver; (b) ngabo, shield; (c) masaka, millet; (d) amakota, knife; (e) arrowheads; (f) mushongole, polite person; (g)uduhuda, spear ferrule; (h) swallow's wing; (i) large swallow's wing; (j) ikirizo, large tail; (k) imiambi, arrows' (1) pentagon; (m) imikako, upper arm ring; (n) imirindi, (o) spirals; (p)segment; (q) crescent.

Sometimes the amatana cover large areas.

Rhomboids, formed by placing the bases of two triangles together, are, as we have said, called ngabo, "shield." They are also seen on quivers and, like the amatana decoration, are usually in the form of bands and less often placed longitudinally.

The row of squares must be regarded as the next variation in this series. It occurs when rhomboids are flattened, becoming squares. This motif is called imikako, "string of beads," although the individual square is called masaka, "millet." A rare variation of the same motif is the longitudinal rhomboid. Horizontal

53| rhomboids produce the motif known as *amasaro*, "string."

When the triangles meet at their tips, forming hourglass figures, the knife pattern (*amakota*) is produced. [331] These figures are often used in columns on the soft shield mats, separated from one another at irregular intervals. Rarely, the hourglass figures are used in horizontal patterns.

The arrowhead motif is sometimes used in plant-like configurations, but these forms are relatively rare.

The *mushongole* motif is usually combined in perpendicular symmetrical or alternating columns, with the individual elements joined together or separate.

The *uduhuda*, the spear ferrule element, is usually arranged in free rows, one element above the other, forming unenclosed columns or sometimes step-like rows.

The swallow wing motif is arranged in oblique and horizontal bands. The former seem to be the original ones; the variations appearing in horizontal bands are far removed from the original pattern of homogeneous elements, for example, perpendicular elements have been introduced. However, even in the "large swallow wing ornament," besides the simple form there is a more complicated one with intermediate elements.

The *ikirizo* motif is combined for ornamentation in much the same way as the above-mentioned *mushongole* motif, but with the difference that the parts can be placed diagonally as well as perpendicularly.

The arrow motif (*imiambi*) is used in rows, one above the other, to cover large areas. Often there are only a few rows, placed horizontally or diagonally.

Besides the arrow motif, the quiver motif (*amatana*) is used to cover large surfaces, as are the shield motif (*ngabo*), the millet motif (*masaka*), and the spear ferrule motif (*uduhuda*). In the last motif, elements of various sizes are combined.

Pentagons are very seldom used in Ruanda ornamentation. I recall having seen them only once (III E 13644). In this case the longitudinal pentagons were placed next to each other.

However, more complicated forms are achieved in Ruanda ornamentation by a combination of two or three motifs.

531 The simplest composite forms occur when decorative elements, such as *amatana* or *ikirizo*, are arranged along a diagonal edge. Equally simple in its construction is the *muhiga* pattern made up of a combination of long and narrow elements with short and wide swallow wing motifs. The ornamentation combining *uduhuda* and *mushongole* motifs is not any more complicated, whereas that made of a combination of *uduhuda* and incomplete swallow wing motifs is somewhat strange looking. [332] Not infrequently we also find swallow wing motifs enclosed in horizontal bands (*imirindi*) and a diagonal band of *ngabo* with several lines of *imiambi* running parallel to the sides of the triangles.

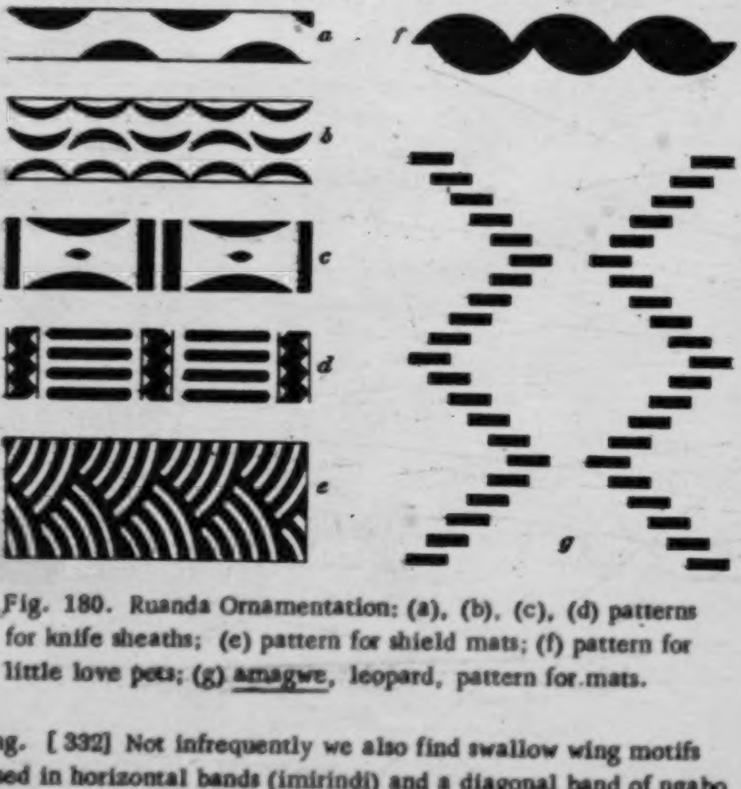

Fig. 180. Ruanda Ornamentation: (a), (b), (c), (d) patterns for knife sheaths; (e) pattern for shield mats; (f) pattern for little love pots; (g) *amagwe*, leopard, pattern for mats.

More complicated forms are usually obtained by repetitions of two motifs. On knife sheaths we often find a combination of *uduhuda* and *imirariko*.

531 Circles or spirals are used only on round objects and especially on the bottoms of baskets made by sewing together spirals of straw, on plates, and lids. This shows that the above-mentioned rectilinear forms are simply modified to conform to the material.

Large numbers of unjoined segments and crescents are placed in rows on knife sheaths. They are sometimes also combined with uduhudu or imiambi which separate the individual segments of the ornamentation from each other. On small clay vessels, however, they often flow together to make large units, and on the shield mats we can also see fragments of the three-strand weave.

We may regard the simplicity of Ruanda ornamentation as the result of an adjustment to the material, chiefly the basket sewn together in spiral coils, which is the principal article ornamented. It is not [333] impossible that we have here a secondary simplification dictated by the technique of ornamentation, which consists chiefly of black banana sheaths wound around the coils. The names of the decorative elements lead us to assume that in the past there were probably attempts at realistic portrayal. In support of this view we could point to the amagwe decoration which often appears on the mats. Amagwe means "leopard," and in the drawing we can see a stylization of a four-legged, spotted creature.

535 The Dance. During the festitivies which Musinga arranged in honor of His Highness Duke Adolf Friedrich of Mecklenburg, I had an opportunity to see several very different types of dances (kwamiriza). They were performed in such rapid succession that I was unable to grasp the fundamental differences, hence I must limit myself chiefly to listing them by name.

The first four dances were performed by the danga baganisi, the chosen ones of the king. The first was called imbunduza, the second, rukatsa; the third, tubagendane; and the fourth, kuboko.

The second dance troupe was made up of inkwaya za Kabure. They danced the muganguza, each with an arrow in his hand. The dance is shown on Plate 18 of Volume III.

The third group of dancers were Kanuma's ntore from Kissaka. They danced kuhyereka rushara and a crane dance (1). The small

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1. Adolf Friedrich, Duke of Mecklenburg, Ins innerste Afrika [Into the Interior of Africa] (Leipzig, 1909), p. 118.

boys of Kanuma performed another dance of the same type (2).

Ibid., p. 119.

The dances are divided into two distinct groups, the kwamiriza and the kuhyereka. In the first group the dancers hold a spear or an arrow in their hands and swing them rhythmically. The martial bearing of the dancers indicates that this is a war [534] dance. In these dances the dancers wear iron bells on their ankles and move in a closed circle or in a line from left to right. This type seems to be representative of all true Batutsi dances.

The second group is the kuhyereka. This is danced by one or two dancers, very rarely by three. In this dance the dancer rocks back and forth with his arms outstretched and often bent backward. This position is called kutega amaboko. For the kuhyereka the bells, if they are used, are fastened under the knee. It is very characteristic that in these dances, which were probably originally Bahutu, the bells are worn in the place where the Bakondjo, who are not influenced by the Batutsi, wear their leg rings.

[334] The dances which I had an opportunity to observe in Mulera belonged altogether to the kuhyereka group. The dance was performed by two soloists, and the passive participants accompanied their movements with singing and hand clapping to maintain the rhythm. The dance was sometimes also accompanied by the playing of the inanga. That only the kuhyereka type of dance appears in Mulera shows very definitely that it belongs to the lower Bantu stratum.

524 Play. Rattles are the common toys for children. Bigger boys like to play with small bows. A discus game is played with bow and arrow. There are two teams, with seven boys on each side. One team throws soft discuses cut out of a banana stalk;

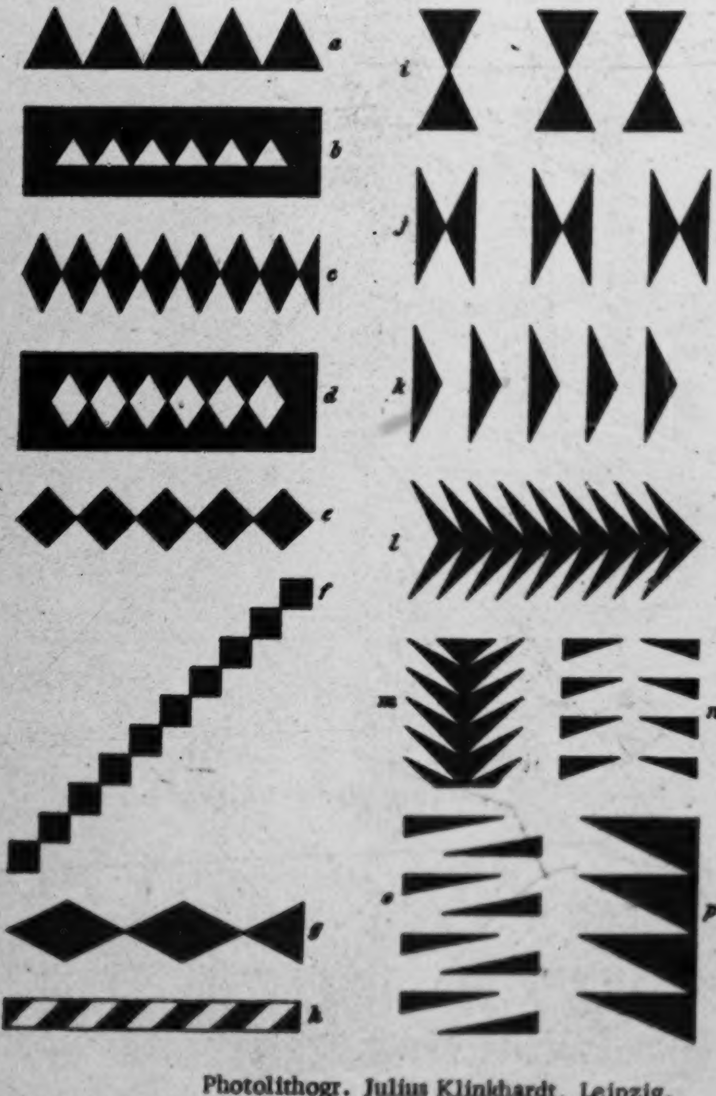
524 the other team shoots arrows at them to stop their course. When all the discuses have been thrown, the archers become pitchers and vice versa. This game can go on indefinitely. It usually stops when there are not enough arrows left, because not all the arrows that are shot can be recovered.

Adults are passionately fond of *kishoro*, but this seems to be less widespread than in the eastern regions of the Runyoro language area. The game is played on a board that has 32 hollows in four rows. There are 64 wild banana seeds and at the beginning of the game these are deposited in the hollows of two rows, taking the seeds of one hollow and distributing them, one each, in the four successive hollows. The contents of the hollows are again picked up and distributed in the next hollows. When one row has been filled, the game continues in the next row, and this process is repeated until the player has only one seed left and arrives at an empty hollow.

By a skillful selection of the initial hollow, the player aims to have the last seed, which he holds in his hand, be the fourth seed in the hollow into which it is placed. He has then won these. If the player arrives at an empty hollow with the last seed he holds in his hand, the opponent gets a turn.

525 Betting is known in Ruanda. I had occasion to confirm this when Musinga made a bet with one of the Askari (Tingi-Tingi) accompanying me, of whom he was very fond, as to whether he could drink two jugs of beer in one sitting.

Plate I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Photolithogr. Julius Klinkhardt, Leipzig.

Plate II

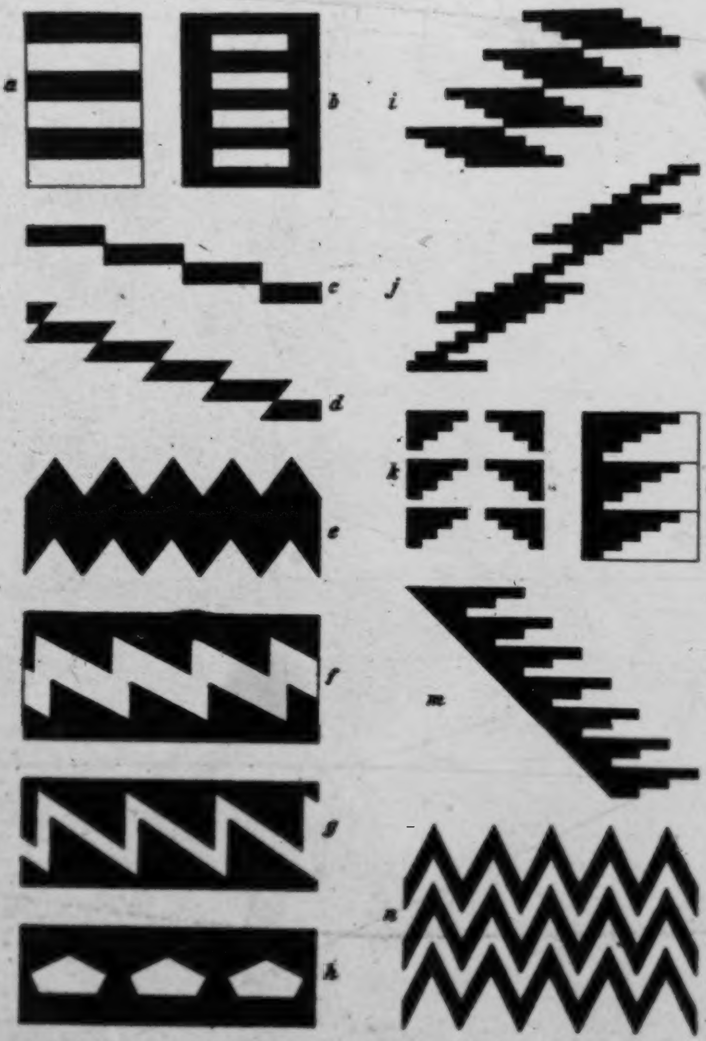
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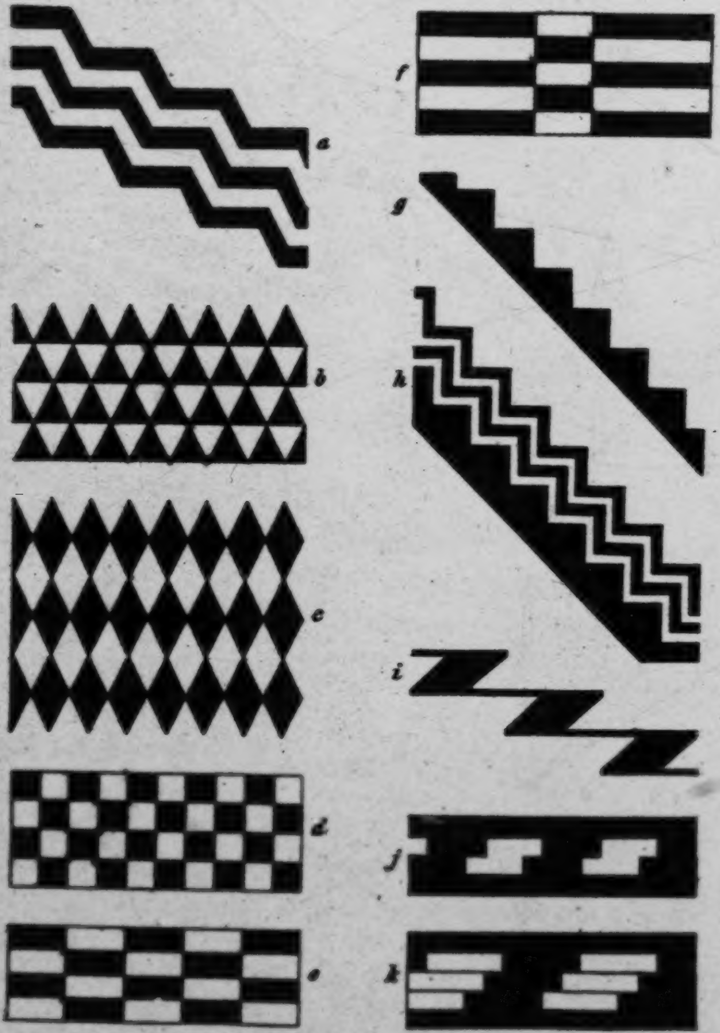
Plate III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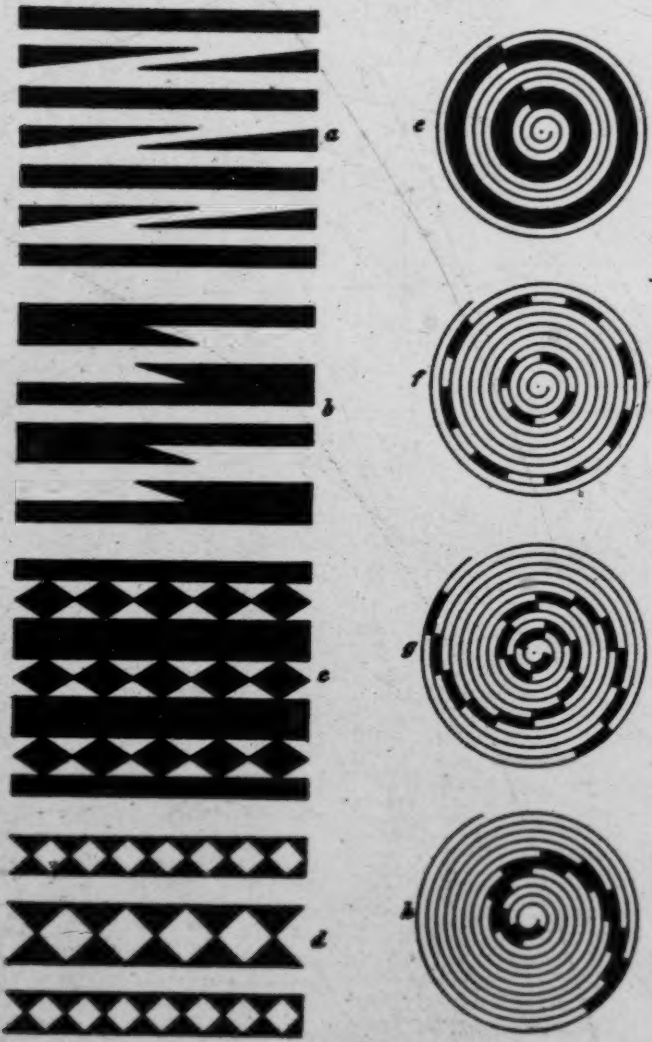
Photolithogr. Julius Klinkhardt, Leipzig.

Plate IV

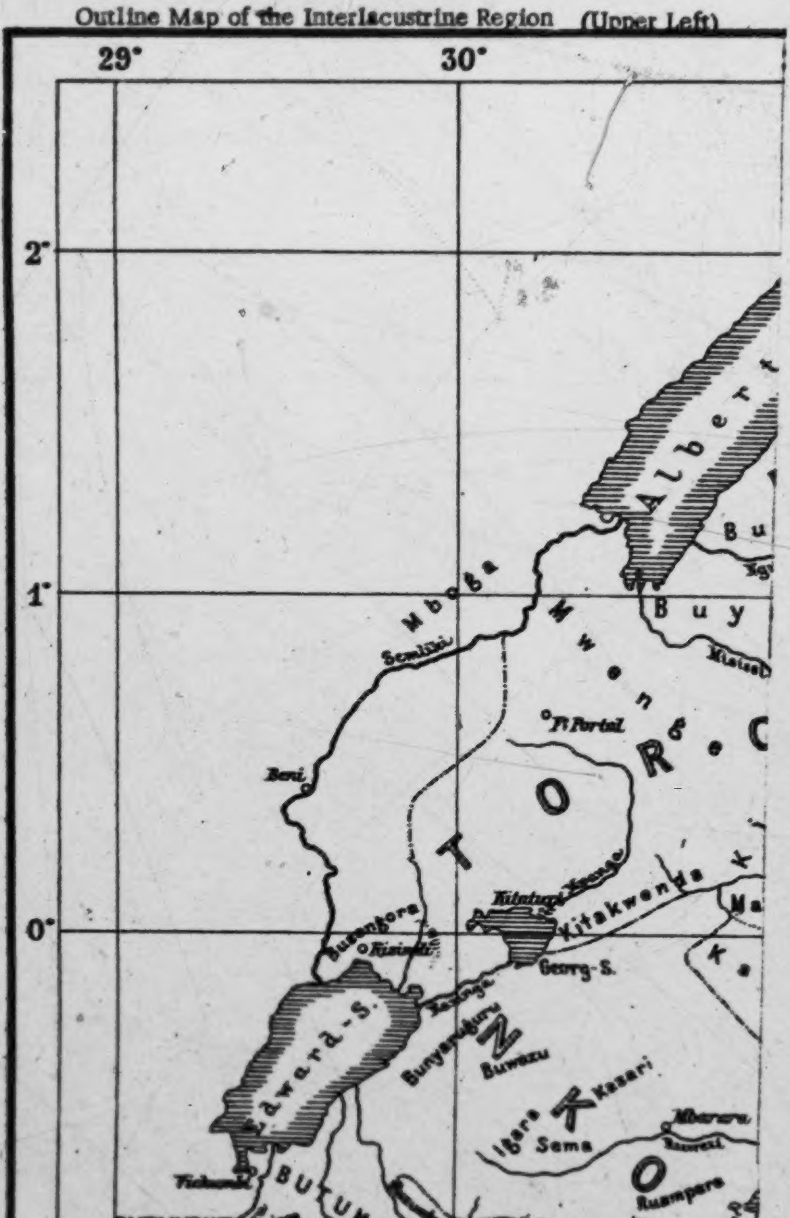


Photolithogr. Julius Klinkhardt, Leipzig.

6 : Czekanowski--280 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

Outline Map of the Interlacustrine Region (Upper Left)

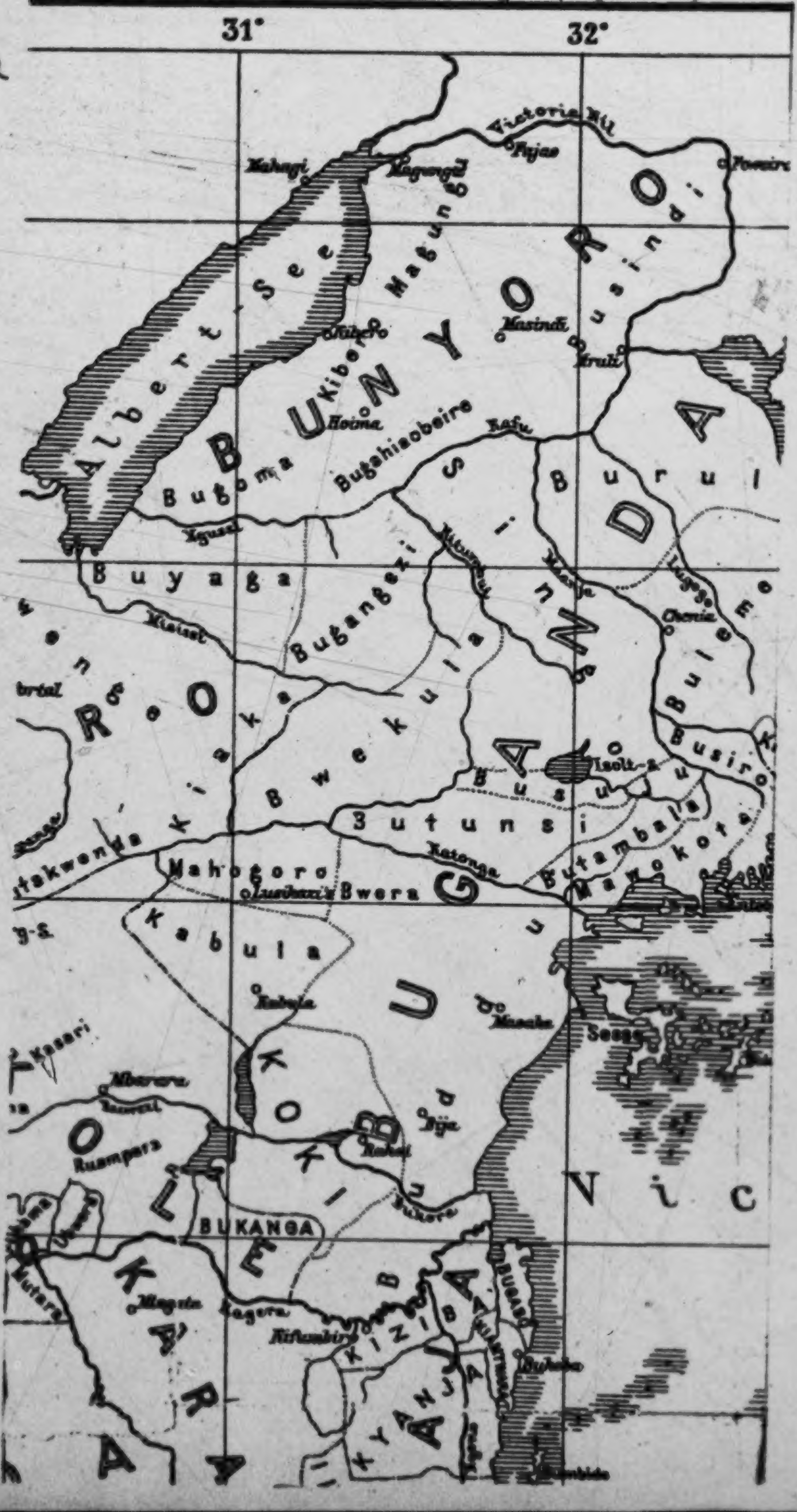
102


29°
30°
2°
1°
0°
1°
Albert
Bu
Buy
Mboga
Semliki
Mwenge
Ft Portal
TORO
Beni
Kitakwenda
Kitatugi
Georg-S.
Busongora
Kisinga
Edward-S.
Kazinga
Bunyaruguru
Buwazu
Kasari
Igara
Sema
Mbarara
Ruampara
Vichumbi
BUTUMBI
BUTUNDWE
Mpimbi
MPORORO
Rutshuru
Luwondo
NDORWA
Murutwa
Butaya
Mufara
Ruischa
KOLKA
Ma
Ka
Mag

6: Czekanowski--281 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

Outline Map of the Interlacustrine Region (Top Center)

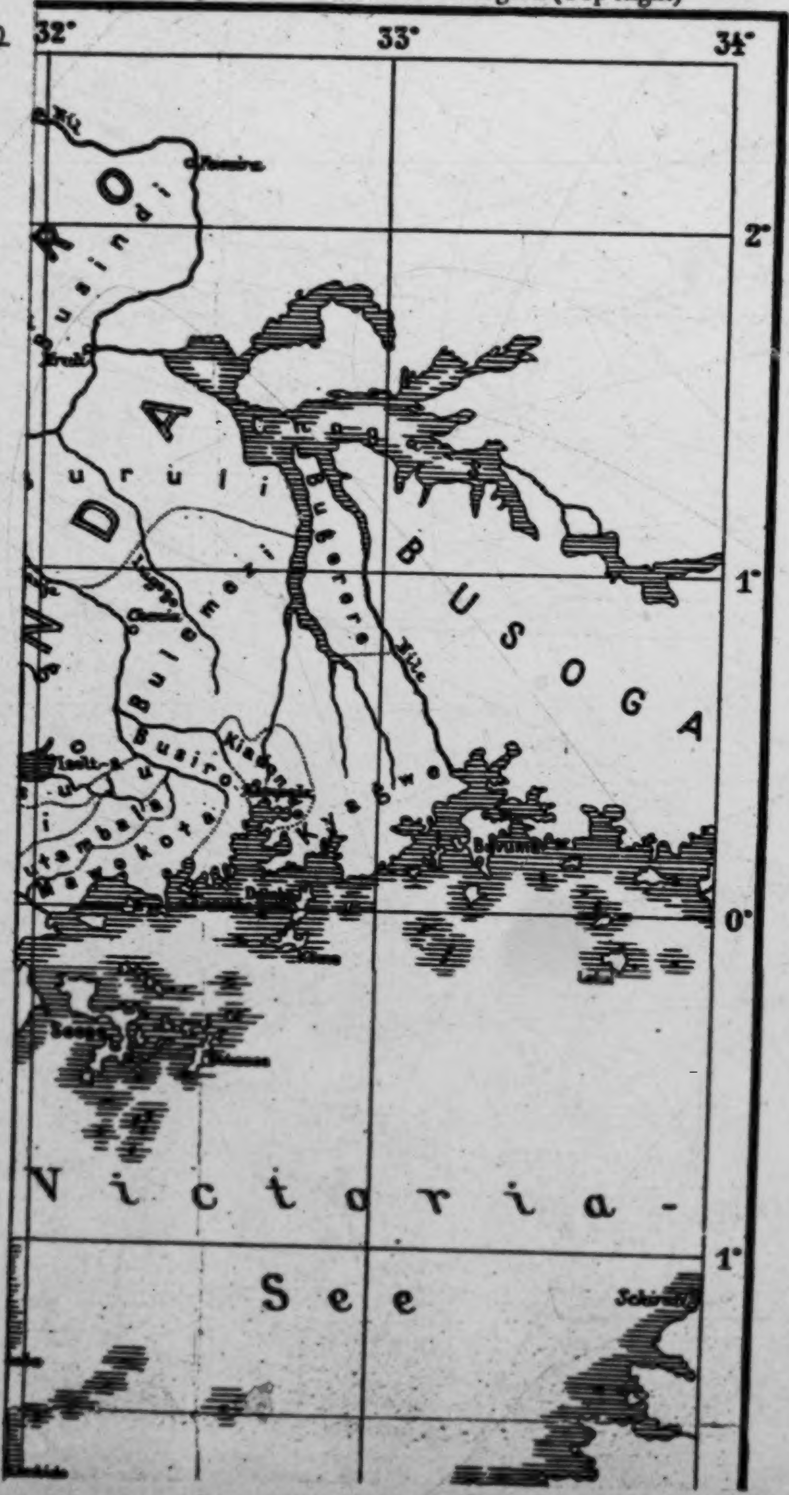
102



31°
32°
Victoria Nil
Fajao
Foweira
Mahagi
Magungo
Albert See
Mabungo
Kibero
Kibero
Masindi
Busindi
Mruli
BUNYORO
Hoima
Bugoma
Bugahiaobeiro
Kafu
Buruli
Nguzzi
Buyaga
Bugangezi
Kitumbi
Mkanja
Lugogo
Chenia
Bulemezi
Muisset
Bugerere
Buwekula
Singo
UGANDA
Busiro
Busuju
Butunsi
Butambala
Mawokota
Katonga
Mahogoro
Lusibazi
Bwera
Kabula
Kabula
Kasari
Mbarara
Ruizi
Ruampara
KOKI
BUDDU
Masaka
Sesse
Bija
Rakai
Bukora
Vic
BUKANGA
Kagera
Mugula
Kifumbiro
KIZIBA
BUHAYA
BUGABO
Bukoba
KYANJA
KARAGWE
ANKOLE

6: Czekanowski--282 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42
Outline Map of the Interlacustrine Region (Top Right)

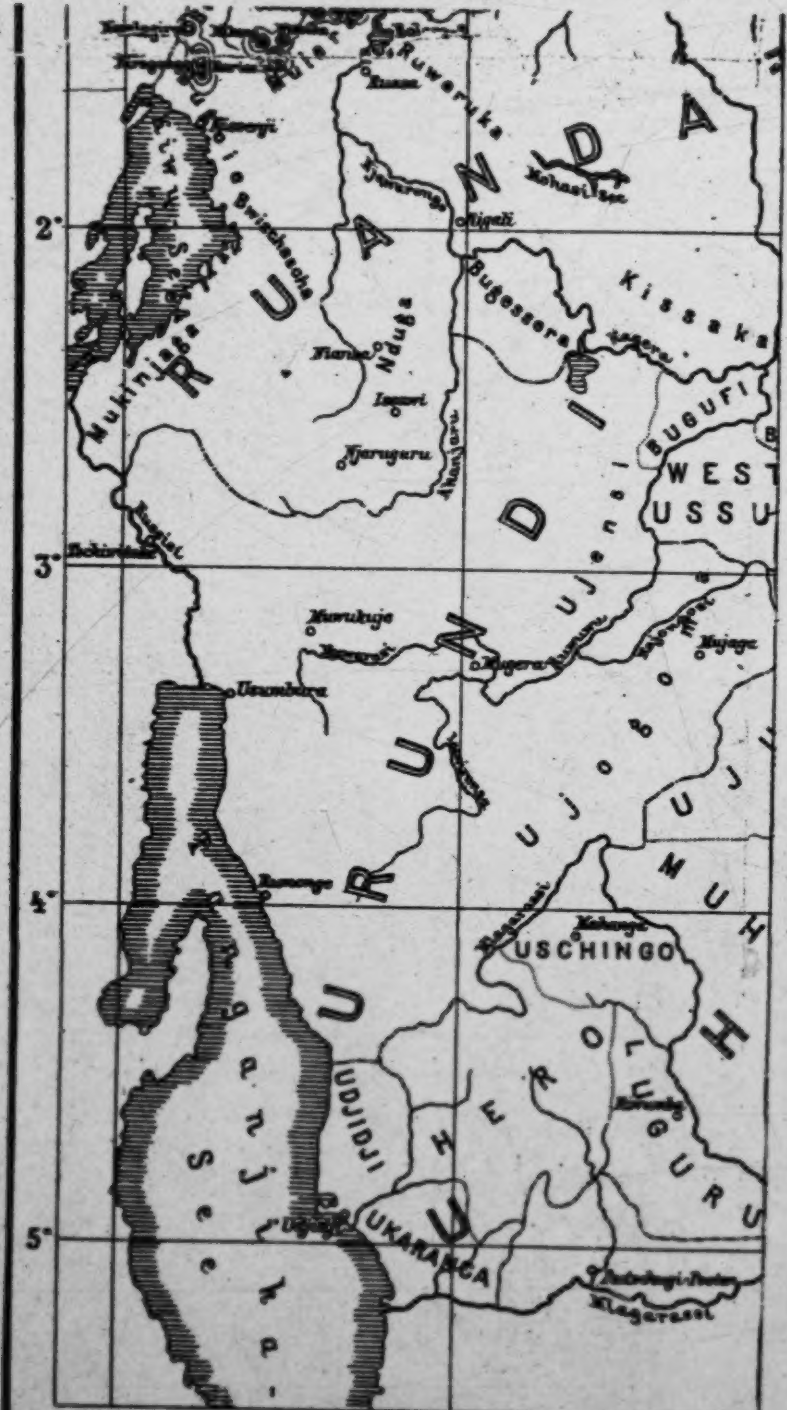
102


32°
33°
34°
2°
1°
0°
1°
Nil
Foweira
Busindi
Bururuli
NDA
Bugerere
Bulemezi
Busiro
Kiagwe
Butambala
Mawokota
Nile
BUSOGA
Victoria-See
Schirati

6: Czekanowski--283 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

Outline Map of the Interlacustrine Region (Left Bottom)

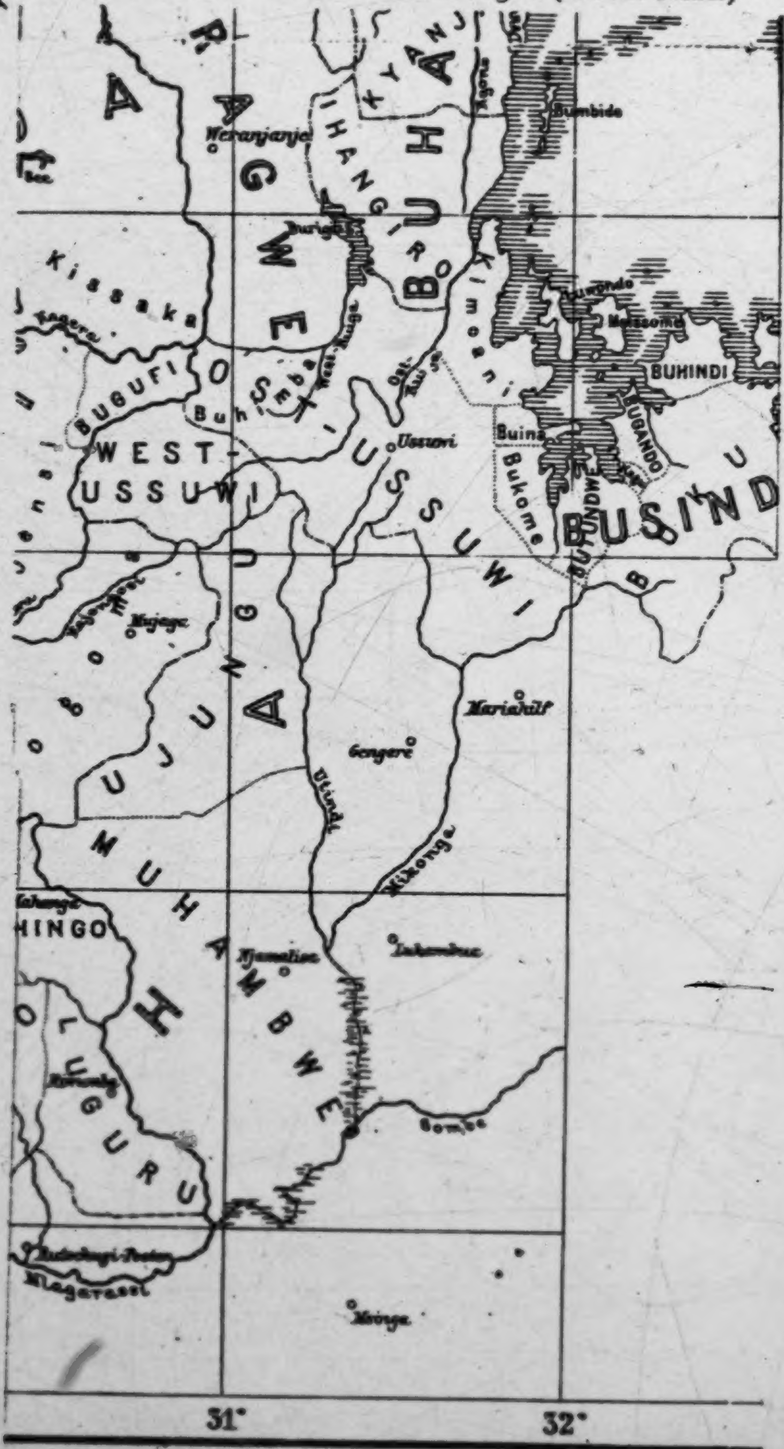
102


RUANDA
Ruweruka
Kohasi See
Kigali
Njawarongo
Bwischascha
Mukinjaga
Bugessera
Kissaka
Nduga
Nianza
Njaruguru
Akanjaru
BUGUFI
WEST USSU
URUNDI
Usumbura
Rumonge
USCHINGO
Kibanga
UDJIDJI
UKARANGA
Udjidji
Malagarassi
Tanganjika See
2°
3°
4°
5°
29°
30°

6: Czekanowski--284 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

102

Outline Map of the Interlacustrine Region (Bottom Center)

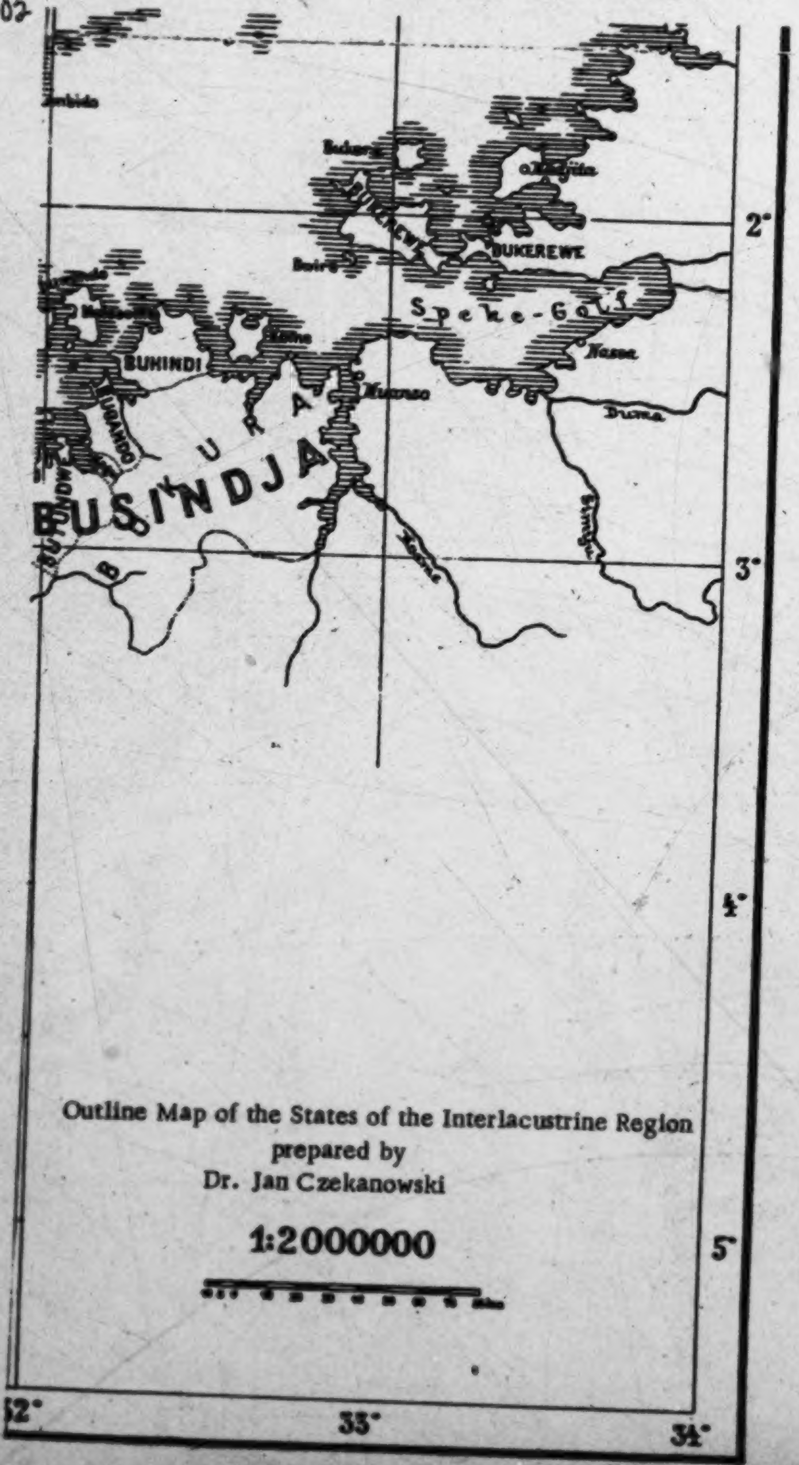


KARAGWE
Weranjanje
IHANGIRO
KYANJA
Bumbide
Kissaka
Kagera
BUGUFI
WEST-USSUWI
OST-USSUWI
Ussuwi
Kimoani
Massome
BUHINDI
BUGANDO
Buina
Bukome
BUSINDA
Mujaga
Mariahilf
Gengere
Ulindi
Nikonga
HINGO
Bombe
Mlagarassi
31°
32°

6: Czekanowski--285 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

Outline Map of the Interlacustrine Region (Bottom Right)

102


Speke-Golf
BUKEREWE
BUHINDI
Nassa
Duma
BUSINDJA
2°
3°
4°
5°
32°
33°
34°

Outline Map of the States of the Interlacustrine Region
prepared by
Dr. Jan Czekanowski

1:2000000